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Along the Road to Nerik

Local Panthea of Hittite Northern Anatolia[1]

Carlo Corti

Abstract

In the vast corpus of the Hittite festivals, a good number of which are known only by their name, some texts treat ritual pilgrimages in different parts of the country; texts of this type are particularly useful for the reconstruction of local panthea because they often cite and describe deities of which otherwise little to nothing is known. In this study, a selection of these sources, comprising both festival texts and cult inventories, are investigated and new information on local cults in North-Central Anatolia provided. A full edition of KBo 23.89(+), KBo 39.48+ and KBo 34.106(+) allows us to examine the panthea of some administrative districts, their cities, as well as the most important gods and their liturgies. The investigation will shed new light on religious ceremonies but is also relevant to the historical geography of the area. In conclusion, it is proposed to attribute KBo 23.89(+) to the "Festival of the journey to Nerik".

1. Introduction

There are many texts which describe local panthea of northern Anatolia for the Hittite period but since most of the time we are dealing with scattered fragments and incomplete tablets, the information inferred is partial and does not allow an attribution to a specific location or festival with any certainty. It is also difficult to determine the number, order and hierarchy of the deities of a specific place because often the reconstruction of a pantheon has to be based on a variety of sources (with regard to both date and genre).

Usually the lists of offerings to the deities are essential for this kind of research, but they are useful mainly for the panthea of the most important centers and for the state pantheon, with the local cults receiving scant attention. In addition to the festivals, prayers (particularly that of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal to the Sun-goddess of Arinna and that of Muwatalli II to the Assembly of Gods), lists of deities in treaties and some cult inventories provide important information on the structure of these panthea.

1 I would like to thank James Burgin for reading the manuscript and for useful suggestions.

The festival fragment KBo 20.87,[2] which exhibits sections of divine lists linked to towns of northern Anatolia, is noteworthy due to the presence of such interesting elements as the participation of the king, the celebration of the "Great (Assembly)" and a ritual connected to the town of Kaštama performed in the city of Zikmar.

S. Alp had noted similarities with the unpublished fragment Bo 5543;[3] the latter actually joins KBo 20.87 directly, and the one-column manuscript, thus reassembled, preserves almost completely more than 30 lines on obverse and reverse. To these we can add a third fragment, KBo 23.89,[4] which, although part of the same tablet, is difficult to place with any precision; nevertheless there are indications that it should be positioned on the obverse very close to the other fragments. For the assignment of the sides of the tablet we followed the data provided by Ehelolf for Bo 5543, which seem to be corroborated by the physical shape of the tablet[5] and its content.

2. The Festival Tablet KBo 23.89(+)* Bo 5543 +* KBo 20.87

Transliteration

Obv. (KBo 23.89)[6]

x+1 ^{D}… ^{UR}]^{U}[*Ḫa-an-*]⌜*ḫa*$^{?}$⌝-*n*[*a*(?)
2’ 1 UDU ^{D}U] ^{D}U ^{URU}*Zi-pal-da* x[
3’]1 UDU ^{D}*Ḫa-ti-pu-na*[
4’ 1 UDU]$^{D?}$*An-du-pé-e-pa* 1 UDU ^{D}[

5’]⌜^{D}⌝U ^{URU}*A-*⌜*tal*⌝-*ḫa-zi-ya*[
6’]^{D}*Ḫa-ti-pu-na* 1 UDU ^{TÚL}*Ku*$^{?}$-*u*[*n*$^{?}$-*na-ni-ya*(?)

7’ [LUGAL-*uš e-ša šal-l*]*i*[7] *ḫal-zi-ya* TUŠ-*aš* ⌜ŠUR.GAL⌝ ^{D}*Ta-*⌜*ú*⌝$^{?}$[-*ri*(?)
GUB$^{?}$-*aš* ^{D}UTU ^{D}*Tap-pí-nu*]
8’ [TUŠ$^{?}$-*aš* ^{D}*Ḫa-pa-a*]*n*$^{?}$-*ta-li*(?) ^{NINDA}*zi-pu-la-aš* DÙ-*zi* GUB-*aš*[^{D}…

---

2 Transcription, translation and commentary in Haas 1970, 256–59 (quoted as 134/e); Alp 1983, 266–67.

3 Alp 1983, 304 fn. 277; cf. Yoshida 1996, 274–75 fn. 171. In fact Ehelolf, next to his transcription of Bo 5543, had already noted a comparison with KBo 20.87 and Bo 3554 (see *infra*).

4 I owe the discovery of this fragment to a suggestion of Silvin Košak. I would like to thank him for his kind help and support.

5 From the photos of KBo 20.87 posted on the Hethitologie-Portal Mainz, the shape of the two sides is clear (flat vs. convex), which is in agreement with the direction of writing on the left edge. In the handcopy of KBo 20.87 the indication of obverse and reverse needs to be corrected.

6 For the fragment Bo 5543, in addition to the already published parts (Fuscagni 2007, 113–14 with previous literature), I used the transliteration of Ehelolf and the filecards at the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. I would like to thank Gernot Wilhelm for giving me the opportunity to consult the Mainz lexical archive.

7 So rightly HW^{2} H, 107.

9’ [GU]B$^{?}$-*aš* ^{D}GAL.ZU ^{NINDA}*zi-pu-la-aš pár-ši-ya* TUŠ-*aš* ⌜^{D}⌝[…
NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA *an-dur-za*]
10’ [TUŠ$^{?}$-*aš* ^{D}*Te-li-pí-*]*nu*(?) ^{NINDA}*zi-pu-la-aš* ME-*zi* TUŠ-*aš* $^{ḪUR.SAG}$*Ta-kur-ga*[
11’ [-]*zi* ^{URU}*Ḫa-ḫa-na-aš QA-TI* [

12’ [*lu-kat* LUGAL-*uš-za* ^{URU}]*Ḫa-an-ḫa-ni* ^{TÚG}NÍG.LÁM^{MEŠ} BABBAR^{MEŠ}
ḪUB.BÍ KÙ.BABBAR ME[-*i*
13’ [-*z*]*i* LUGAL-*uš šu-u-ra-aš a-ri* ^{DUG}*iš-pa-an-*[*du-uz-zi*(-)
14’ [*ta-aš-kán*] ^{GIŠ}*ḫu-lu-kán-ni-en* DIB-*zi* $^{MUNUS.MEŠ}$*ḫ*[*a-az-ga-ra*(?)
15’ [LUGAL-*uš I-NA* ^{É}*ḫa-li-*]*en-tu-aš pa-iz-zi* ⌜*ták*⌝-*kán t*[*i-ya-zi*(?)
16’ [1 UDU ^{D}U ^{D}U ^{URU}*Zi-*]*pal-da* 1 UDU ^{D}U ^{URU}*Ne-ri-i*[*k*

17’ [*ma-a-an* LUGAL-*uš*(?) ^{U}]^{RU}*Ḫa-ti-na* ⌜*a*$^{?}$-*ri*$^{?}$⌝ x-x[
18’ [^{D}*Za-ḫa-p*]*u-na-a*(?) 1$^{?}$ [UDU(?)
…
(Bo 5543 + KBo 20.87)

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y+1 [LUGAL-*uš e-ša šal-li ḫal-zi-ya* TUŠ-*aš* ^{D}*Ta-ú-ri* ŠUR.GA]L$^{?}$(?) ⌜TUŠ⌝
$^{?}$-*aš* ^{D}UTU ^{D}*Tap-pí-nu*
2’ ⌜TUŠ-*aš*⌝[^{D} ^{NINDA}*zi-pu-la-aš* DÙ-*zi* TU]Š$^{?}$-*aš* ^{D}U ^{URU}*Ne-ri-ik*
NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA *an-dur-za*
3’ TUŠ-*aš* ^{D}[^{D} … ^{NINDA}*zi-pu-la-a*]*š par-ši-ya* TUŠ-*aš* ^{D}U Ú.SAL
4’ TUŠ-*aš* ^{D}*Za-ḫa-p*[*u-na-a*]

5’ *lu-kat* LUGAL-*uš* ^{URU}*Ḫa-a*[*t-t*]⌜*i*$^{?}$-*na*$^{?}$⌝[-(?)]x *da-a-i ta-aš* ^{GIŠ}I
GIR-*it* ^{URU}*Zi-ik-mar*
6’ *an-da-an pa-iz-zi ma-a-na-aš* ^{URU}*An-na-ap-ra a-ri* 1 ^{NINDA}*ka-ḫa-ri-in* 1
^{DUG}BUR.ZI ^{ÚTUL}*kán-ga-ti*
7’ ^{D}UTU ^{URU}*An-na-ap-pí* GEŠTIN BAL-*ti* 1 ^{NINDA}*ka-ḫa-ar* 1 ^{DUG}BUR.ZI
^{UTÚL}*kán-ga-ti A-NA* LUGAL
8’ LUGAL-*uš* ^{URU}*Zi-ik-mar a-ri ḫa-az-zi-wi*$_5$ NU.TUKU

9’ *lu-kat* LUGAL-*uš* UD^{KAM} ^{URU}*Ḫa*$^{!}$(ka)-*p*[*a-a*]*t-ḫa* UD^{KAM} ^{URU}*Iš-dam-mu-*
tar I-NA ^{URU}*Zi-ik-mar I-NA* UD 1^{KAM} DÙ-*zi*
10’ LUGAL-*uš-za* ^{TÚG}NÍG.LÁM BABBAR$^{ME.EŠ}$ ḪUB.BÍ KÙ.BABBAR ME-*i*
ta-aš-kán ^{GIŠ}*ḫu-lu-ga-ni-it a-ra-aḫ-za an-da ú-iz-zi*
11’ [L]Ú^{MEŠ}*ḫa-az-zi-wi-aš pí-an ḫu-u-wa-a-i* LUGAL-*uš* ^{É}*ḫa-li-tu-aš a-ri* 1
UDU.ŠE ^{D}U ^{URU}*Ḫa-pa-at-ḫa*
12’ [$^{ḪUR.}$]^{SAG}*Ku-un-ku-mu-uš-ša* ^{TÚL}*Ú-e-ri-ya-du-ú* 1 UDU ^{D}U ^{URU}*Iš-dam-ma-tar*
13’ [*nu*$^{?}$]2 UDU ^{D}U ^{URU}*Ne-ri-ik* ŠÀ.BA 1 UDU *ŠA* SISKUR UD^{KAM} ^{URU}*Ḫa-*
pát-ḫa$^{!}$ 1 UDU *ŠA* UD^{KAM} ^{URU}*Iš-dam-mu-tar*

14’ [UZ]U*šu-up-pa ti-ya-an-zi* 2 BÁN BA.BA.ZA NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA *pár-ku-iš*

Rev.

1 LUGAL-*uš e-ša šal-li ḫal-zi-ya* TUŠ-*aš* D*Ta-ú-ri* ŠUR.GAL GUB-*aš* DUTU D*Tap-pí-nu*
2 GUB-*aš* DU URU*Ḫa-pát-ḫa* GUB-*aš* DU URU*I[š-d]am-mu-tar* TUŠ-*aš* DU DU URU*Zi-pal-da* TUŠ-*aš* D*Tu-ḫa-ša-il*
3 NINDA*zi-pu-la-aš* DÙ!(du)-*zi* GUB-*aš* DU URU*Ne-ri-ik* NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA *an-dur-za* TUŠ-*aš* D*Za-li-ya-nu* D*Ta-zu-wa-ši*
4 NINDA*zi-pu-la-aš* ME-*zi* TUŠ-*aš* ḪUR.SAG*K[u-k]u-mu-uš-ša* TUŠ-*aš* TÚL*Ú-e-ri-ya-du-uš* GUB-*aš* DU URU*Ne-ri-ik*
5 GIŠBANŠURḪI.A ME-*zi*

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6 *lu-kat* LUGAL-*uš* URU*Zi-ik-ma-r*[*i*?]UDKAM DU D*LAMMA ŠA* URU*Kaš-da-ma* DÙ-*zi* LUGAL-*un ḫu-u-da-ak*
7 *ŠA* URU*Kaš-da-ma a-ni-u-ur* K[I]N?-*iz-zi*(?) LUGAL-*un wa-ar-ap-zi ta-za* TÚGNÍG.LÁM BABBARMEŠ ḪUB.BÍ KÙ.BABBAR ME-*i*
8 *ta-za* GIŠ*gaz-zi-tu-ri* ⌜GIŠ*ḫu-lu-kán-ni-en*⌝ [DI]B?-⌜*zi*?⌝ LÚMEŠ*ḫa-az-zi-wi*$_5$-*aš pí-an ḫu-u-wa-a-i*

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9 LUGAL-*uš* É*ḫa-li-tu-aš* [*a-ri* 1 UDU DU URU*Kaš-d*]*a*?-*ma* 1 UDU D*Za-al-ya-nu* 1 UDU D*LAMMA* URU*Kaš-ta-ma*
10 1 UDU DU URU*Ne*[*-ri-ik*]x-*iš*EGIR-*ŠÚ*⌜*A-NA*⌝(?) DINGIRMEŠ URU*Kaš-ta-ma*
11 *I-NA* É DU U[RU*Zi-ik-mar*(?) DÙ-*zi* 1 UDU DU URU*Ka*]*š-da-ma* 1 UDU D*Za-ḫa-pu-na* 1 UDU D*LAMMA*
12 ½ BÁN BA.B[A.ZA NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA(?)]

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13 LUGAL-*uš* [*e-ša šal-li ḫal-zi-ya* TUŠ-*aš* ŠUR.GAL(?) D*Ta-ú-r*]*i*? GUB-*aš* DUTU D*Tap-pí-nu* GUB-*aš* DU URU*Kaš-da-ma*
14 GUB-*a*[*š* D…]x ⌜TUŠ⌝-*aš* D*Za-li-ya-nu* D*Ta-zu-wa-ši*
15 x[TU]Š?-*aš* DUDKAM NINDA*zi-pu-la-aš* DÙ-*zi*
16 [DU URU*Ne-ri-i*]*k*? ŠUR.GAL NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA *an-dur-za*
17 [ ]D*Taḫ-aš-ta-ru*(-)x x[
18? [ ]

L. e.

1 *ne-*⌜*e*?⌝[(*-u*)*-wa-an tup-pí*(?)
2 mŠ[*a*?-

Translation

Obv. (KBo 23.89)

x+1 [1 sheep (to the) deity … of the tow]n of [Ha(n)]han[a(?)
2’ [1 sheep (to the) Storm-god (and to the)] Storm-[god] of Zipalda [
3’]1 sheep to Hatipuna[
4’ 1 sheep to] Andupepa(?),1 sheep to the deity […

5’] and [1 sheep to the] Storm[-god] of Atalhazi [
6’ 1 sheep to] Hatipuna, 1 sheep to the spring Ku[nnaniya(?)

7’ [The king sits down] (and) announces [the gran]d (assembly): seated ŠUR.GAL (and) Tau[ri, seated/standing the Sun-goddess (and) Tappinu];
8’ [seated/standing Hapa]ntali(?). He celebrates[8] (?) (with?) *zipula*-bread: standing [the deity …
9’ [seate]d/standin]g GAL.ZU; (the king) breaks *zipula*-bread: seated [the deity …
10’ [seated/standing Telipi]nu(?). He(?) places *zipula*-bread; seated Mt. Takurga [
11’ […]s. The town of Hanhana: (the ceremony is) finished. [

12’ [The (next) morning the king] in the town of Hanhana puts on white festive garbs (and) silver earrings
13’ [ ] … The king arrives at the (stone) *šura,* and a liba[tion] vessel [
14’ [he] takes the carriage; the *ḫ*[*azgara*]-women [
15’ [The king] enters [the pala]ce (and) on the ground(?) … [
16’ [1 sheep to the Storm-god (and) to the Storm-god of Zi]ppalanda, 1 sheep to the Storm-god of Nerik [

17’ [When the king(?)] arrives(?) in the town of Hat(t)ina … [
18’ [seated/standing Za(š)hap]una(?), st[anding(?)
…

(Bo 5543 + KBo 20.87)

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y+1 [The king sits down (and) announces the grand (assembly): seated/standing Tauri (and) ŠUR.GA]L(?), seated the Sun-goddess (and) Tappinu,
2’ seated [the deity … seat]ed(?) the Storm-god of Nerik; thick bread (on the) inside,
3’ seated the deity […] deity …]; (the king) breaks [*zipula*-bread], seated the Storm-god of the meadow,
4’ seated Za(š)hap[una]

8 Or “prepares”(?). See also rev. 3 and 15.

5' The (next) morning the king the town of Ha[t]tina(?) [ ] … puts and he goes with the carriage to Zikmar.
6' When he arrives in the town of Annapra 1 *kaḫarin*-bread, 1 bowl of vegetable dish
7' for the Sun-goddess of Annap(r)a; he pours wine, 1 *kaḫarin*-bread, 1 bowl of vegetable dish for the king.
8' The king arrives in the town of Zikmar. There is no ceremony.

9' The (next) morning the king celebrates the day of Hapatha and the day of Išdammutar on the first day in Zikmar.
10' The king puts on white festive garbs (and) silver earrings and he comes with the carriage from the (round) outside.
11' The men of the ceremony run(!) ahead; the king arrives in the palace: 1 sheep to the Storm-god of Hapatha,
12' to Mt. Kunkumušša and to the spring Weriyadu, 1 sheep to the Storm-god of Išdammatar
13' [and] 2 sheep to the Storm-god of Nerik, one of which (is) for the daily ritual of Hapatha and the other sheep (is) for (the daily ritual) of Išdammutar.
14' They place pure meat, 2 *SŪTU* (measures) of pure bread porridge.

Rev.

1 The king sits down (and) announces the grand (assembly): seated Tauri (and) ŠUR.GAL, standing the Sun-goddess (and) Tappinu,
2 standing the Storm-god of Hapatha, standing the Storm-god of Išdammutar, seated the Storm-god (and) the Storm-god of Zippalanda, seated Tuhašail.
3 He celebrates(?) (with?) *zipula*-bread: standing the Storm-god of Nerik; thick bread (on the) inside: seated Zaliyanu (and) Tazuwaši.
4 He places *zipula*-bread: seated Mt. Ku(n)kumušša, seated the spring Weriyadu, standing the Storm-god of Nerik.
5 He places the tables.

6 The (next) morning the king celebrates in Zikmar the day of the Storm-god (and) the tutelary deity of the town of Kaštama. The king (acc.) straightaway
7 [cele]brates(?) the ritual of Kaštama. The king (acc.) washes (himself) and puts on white festive garbs (and) silver earrings.
8 At the *gazzituri*-building he takes(?) the carriage(?). The men of the ceremony run(!) ahead.

9 The king [arrives] at the palace: [1 sheep to the Storm-god of Kašt]ama(?), 1 sheep to Zaliyanu, 1 sheep to the tutelary deity of Kaštama,
10 1 sheep to the Storm-god of Ne[rik]… afterwards to the deities of Kaštama;
11 in the temple of the Storm-god of the to[wn of Zikmar(?) he celebrates: 1 sheep to the Storm-god of Ka]štama, 1 sheep to Za(š)hapuna, 1 sheep to the tutelary deity
12 ½ *SŪTU* (measure) [of bread(?)] porr[idge]

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13 The king [sits down (and) announces the grand (assembly): seated/standing ŠUR.GAL(?) (and) Taur]i(?), standing the Sun-goddess (and) Tappinu, standing the Storm-god of Kaštama,
14 standi[ng the deity …]…, standing Zaliyanu (and) Tazuwaši
15 … [stand]ing(?) (Propitious) Day. He celebrates(?) (with?) *zipula*-bread
16 [the Storm-god of Neri]k(?) (and) ŠUR.GAL thick bread (on the) inside
17 [ ] Tahaštaru … [
18[?] [ ]

L. e.
1 Ne[w tablet(?)
2 Š[a[?][9]…

Philological Notes

The text presents a considerable number of errors and inaccuracies; sometimes the place names are written incorrectly, some verbal forms are wrong, and the same is true for some nominal endings. The description of the individual celebrations is reduced to a point that one could designate the manuscript as an outline tablet. For all these reasons – as well as the fragmentary nature of the tablet – it is not always possible to arrive at a certain interpretation.

Obv. (KBo 23.89)
12': The copy has ^{TÚG}NÍG.LÁM^{MEŠ} ÉRIN^{MEŠ}, but collation of new digital photos confirms expected ^{TÚG}NÍG.LÁM^{MEŠ} BABBAR^{MEŠ} in the phrase ^{TÚG}NÍG.LÁM^{MEŠ}

9 According to Gordin 2015, 67 and fn. 313 two restorations are possible (Šakkapi and Šapuḫaziti); it is not clear whether the name belongs to the scribe, a relative or his supervisor.

BABBAR^{MEŠ} ḪUB.BÍ KÙ.BABBAR *da-a-i;*[10] the same sentence is attested two more times on the tablet (Bo 5543+ obv. 10'; rev. 7).[11]

13': LUGAL-*uš šu-u-ra-aš a-ri;* the presence of the word *šura-* that we find in other documents including IBoT 4.75 2'?, 8' (CTH 608) by itself does not justify the attribution of KBo 23.89 to the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} festival.[12] The fact that the (stone) *šura-* is attested in some festival texts related to the city of Arinna (CTH 666) does not prove that there was an exclusive link of the *šura-*stone with that particular place. The geographical scenario suggested by the present fragment excludes an association with Arinna. The visit of the king to the stone was part of a ritual round that required a stop at various sacred places that existed in several towns, as is also case with the *gazzituri*-building.[13]

Obv. (Bo 5543 + KBo 20.87)

1': The restoration of the line and the subsequent attribution of the paragraph to the *šalli ašeššar* ceremony is justified by the mention of the couple ^{D}UTU ^{D}*Tap-pí-nu* (cf. rev. 1, 13).

3': For the restoration ^{NINDA}*zi-pu-la-a*]*š,* cf. rev. 4, 15. This writing of the word is attested only here (KBo 23.89 obv. 8', 9', 10'; Bo 5543+ obv. 2'[], 3'], rev. 3, 4, 15, 16[]), whereas elsewhere it appears in the forms ^{NINDA}*zippulašne-* and ^{NINDA}*zipp*(*u*)*lašš*/*ni-*. The word is derived from Hattic *p*/*wu*$_u$*lašne,* "bread (offering)" or "(a type of) bread".[14] Possibly the form *zipula-* implies a slightly different meaning ("bread", whereas *zipulašne-* "bread offering"?). This distinction probably disappeared over time.[15]

5': The restoration of the place name as ^{URU}*Ḫa-a*[*t-t*]*i*?-⌜*na*?⌝ is highly likely. Accordingly, the fragment KBo 23.89, in which the same toponym is cited in line 17', should probably be positioned very close to the main fragment. The missing lines would deal with ceremonies associated with the deities of Hattina. Geographically, the tablet must provide for a stage of the king's pilgrim-

10 I would like to thank Mine Çifçi and Daniel Schwemer for sending me new photos of this fragment.

11 Compare CTH 629 5th day: KBo 11.43 obv. I 15, KUB 25.19+ obv. I 4'-5'; CTH 738: KBo 45.129 obv. I 12'-13'; CTH 597: KUB 20.79 6'-7'. Not grouped with earrings in CTH 609 9th day: IBoT 3.1 obv. 7'.

12 In the catalogue of IBoT 4 (p. XXVIII) the CTH attribution is only tentatively proposed. Instead, IBoT 4.75 could be attributed to CTH 666 (cf. KBo 34.155 + KUB 34.124+ obv. II 7'ff.). References in HEG S/2, 1203–4 and Popko 2009, 11–12. Cf. similarly, but with geographical arguments, Kryszeń 2016, 147 fn. 371 and 171 fn. 431.

13 In the present text the *gazzituri* is connected with Zikmar, in KUB 58.4 and KUB 44.38 with Taḫurpa, in KBo 11.43 with Arinna, and, finally, in KUB 53.16 with Nerik. For references, see Nakamura 2002, 164. I would like to thank Charles Steitler for sending me the textual references of this word, according to the Mainz filecards.

14 See Soysal 2004, 240 with references. The Hattian word *tewušne* "wine (offering?)", possibly formed by *tewu* and *š*(*i*)*ne*/*i*. Both words, *pulašne* and *tewušne,* occur in the same context in CTH 733.

15 For a recent overview, see HEG W/Z, 760–62; according to HEG *zipula-* should be interpreted as an abbreviated form of the word (cf. also *zi-pu.*).

age from Hanhana to Hattina within one day, a reconstruction confirmed by other sources.[16]

7': The form ^{NINDA}*ka-ḫa-ar* is otherwise not attested in the Hittite documentation. Despite the sg. acc. com. ^{NINDA}*ka-ḫa-ri-in* (line 6'), the presence of ^{NINDA}*ka-ḫa-ar* suggests an *r*-stem noun, even though the aberrant form may well be due to a scribal error.[17]

9': The emended reading *Ḫa*$^{!}$*-p*[*a-a*]*t-ḫa* is confirmed by the role of this city elsewhere in the text.[18]

10': The sentence *ta-aš-kán* ^{GIŠ}*ḫu-lu-ga-ni-it a-ra-aḫ-za an-da ú-iz-zi* is given according to Ehelolf's transliteration; differently Alp, who read *a-ra-aḫ-za-an-da.*[19] The expression "to come with the carriage from outside" with the verb *uwa-* fits the context, as the next sentence describes the arrival of the king in the *ḫalentu*-building.[20]

11': For [L]Ú^{MEŠ}*ḫa-az-zi-wi-aš pí-an ḫu-u-wa-a-i* cf. rev. 8; differently Haas 1970, 258, who restores [DINGI]R!^{MEŠ}*ḫa-az-zi-wi-aš pí-an-z*[*i.* For the correct reading, see already Pecchioli Daddi 1982, 216–17.

Rev.

2: The index of deities in KBo 20 (p. XV) files the Storm-god of *Ḫa-nu-ḫa* and the Storm-god of *Iš*[*-da-ḫi-ša* for no. 87, 2'. The reference to the towns of *Ḫa-pát-ḫa* and *Iš-*[*d*]*am-mu-tar* in the obverse, however, suggests the readings proposed here (…]x-*in* in Ehelolf's transliteration can easily reflect]x-*mu-tar*). These restorations confirm the attribution of the sides of the fragment KBo 20.87 given by Ehelolf and also provide a clear logical continuity between the end of the obverse and the beginning of the reverse, which both deal with descriptions of ceremonies dedicated to these two local Storm-gods.

8: The reconstruction of the entire line is based on the assumption of a connection between the *gazzituri-* (a wooden structure or item of furniture) and the carriage *(ḫuluganni-).* The link between these two elements is shown in a broader manner in KUB 58.4 rev. V 4'–8' and the parallel KBo 51.145 l.c. 1'–4': "The king goes inside the *gazzituri.* When he comes forth from the *gazzituri* the king takes his seat in the carriage". It seems that in our text the arrival of the king at the *gazzituri* has been omitted. The *gazzituri* seems to be a place where the king refreshed himself and got dressed before the beginning of celebrations.

16 See Forlanini 2008, 165–67, especially 166; now also Corti 2017, 222 and Kryszeń 2016, 311–23.
17 For *kaḫare/it-* see HW^{2} K, 6 ff. For a possibile phonetic variant *kakkari-*, probably borrowed from Northern Mesopotamia or Syria (Akk: *kakkaru;* West Semitic **kakkar*), see Hoffner 1974, 166–68.
18 Differently Haas 1970, 53 fn. 3, 257 (^{URU}*Ka-t*[*a-pa*). See also *Ḫa-pát-za* at line 13'.
19 Alp 1983, 304.
20 For this interpretation cf. KUB 20.19 obv. III, 6'–7'; see HW^{2} A, 235.

3. General remarks

On the basis of the reassembled text, the sequences of the gods can be presented in tabular form. The subdivisions detail the city of origin, places of worship and the type of ceremonies:

TOWN; DAY	Ḫanḫana; 1°	Ḫanḫana; 2°?	Unclear Ḫattina; 3°?	Ḫattina
PANTHEON	Ḫanḫana	Ḫanḫana	Ḫattina	Ḫattina
CULT PLACE/ CELEBRATION	^{É}*ḫalentuwa*?	*šalli ašeššar*	^{É}*ḫalentuwa*	*šalli ašeššar*
LIST OF DEITIES	^{D}U ^{UR}]^{U}[*Ḫan*]-*ḫan*[*a*?	ŠUR.GAL ^{D}*Tau*[*ri*?	[^{D}U ^{URU}*Ḫattina*?]	[^{D}*Tauri* ŠUR. GAL?]
	[^{D}U ^{D}]U ^{URU}*Zi-palda*	[^{D}UTU ^{D}*Tap-pinu*?]	[^{D}U ^{D}U ^{URU}*Zi*]-*palda*	^{D}UTU ^{D}*Tappinu*
	…	[^{D}*Ḫapa*]*ntali*(?)	^{D}U ^{URU}*Nerik*	[^{D}
	^{D}*Ḫatipuna*	[^{D}	[^{D}?	[
	…	[^{D}?	§ ^{D}*Zaḫa*]*puna*?	^{D}U ^{URU}*Nerik*
	] ^{D}*Andupepa*?	^{D}GAL.ZU		[
	^{D}[	[^{D}U ^{URU}*Nerik*]?[21]		[
	…	[^{D}*Telipi*]*nu*?		^{D}U Ú.SAL
	§^{D}]U ^{URU}*Atalḫazi*	$^{ḪUR.SAG}$*Takurga*		^{D}*Zaḫapuna*
	…	[^{D}?		
	^{D}*Ḫatipuna*			
	^{TÚL}*Ku*[*nnaniya*?			
	…			
TOWN; DAY	Annapra; 4° Zikmar; 5°	Zikmar	Zikmar; 6°	Zikmar
PANTHEON	Ḫapatḫa & I[š-d]ammutar	Ḫapatḫa & I[š-d]ammutar	Kaštama	Kaštama
CULT PLACE/ CELEBRATION	^{É}*ḫalentuwa*	*šalli ašeššar*	^{É}*ḫalentuwa;* É ^{D}U[	*šalli ašeššar*
LIST OF DEITIES	^{D}U ^{URU}*Ḫapatḫa* $^{Ḫ UR.SAG}$*Kunku-mušša* ^{TÚL}*Weriyadu*	^{D}*Tauri* ŠUR.GAL	^{D}U ^{URU}*Kaš-d*]*ama*?	[ŠUR.GAL ^{D}*Taur*]*i*?
	^{D}U ^{URU}*I*[*šd*]*am-matar*	^{D}UTU ^{D}*Tappinu*	^{D}*Zaliyanu*	^{D}UTU ^{D}*Tappinu*
	^{D}U ^{URU}*Nerik*	^{D}U ^{URU}*Ḫapatḫa*	^{D}LAMMA ^{URU}*Kašdama*	^{D}U ^{URU}*Kašdama*

21 Cf. KUB 58.11 rev. 6'–8'; Yoshida 1996, 72.

LIST OF DEITIES		^{D}U ^{URU}*I[šd]am-mutar*	^{D}U ^{URU}*Ne[rik*	[^{D}
		^{D}U ^{D}U ^{URU}*Zi-palda*	[^{D}?	[^{D}?
		^{D}*Tuḫašail*	É ^{D}U[	^{D}*Zaliyanu* ^{D}*Tazuwaši*
		^{D}U ^{URU}*Nerik*	DINGIR^{MEŠ} ^{URU}*Kaštama*	…
		^{D}*Zaliyanu* ^{D}*Tazuwaši*	[^{D}?]	^{D}UD^{KAM}
		Ḫ$^{UR.SAG}$*Kuku-mušša*	^{D}… ^{URU}*Ka]šda-ma*	…
		^{TÚL}*Weriyadu*	^{D}*Zaḫapuna*	[^{D}U ^{URU}*Neri]k*? ŠUR.GAL
		^{D}U ^{URU}*Nerik*	^{D}LAMMA	…
				^{D}? *Taḫaštaru*?
				…

Arranged in this way, the structure of the document emerges clearly; a specific sequence of events is regularly repeated throughout the extant text:[22]

1. The journey of the king from one town to another (followed, in some cases, by the washing and dressing of the king);
2. Celebrations in the *ḫalentu*/"palace" and – in one case – even in the temple of the Storm-god;
3. The celebration of the Great Assembly, perhaps in the same *ḫalentu*-building.

Generally, the structure of list of deities for the initial celebrations in the *ḫalentu* differ from that of the Great Assembly on the following day. In the ritual performed in the *ḫalentu* the most important deity of the local pantheon (usually a Storm-god) stands at the beginning of the list. For the deities of the subsequent positions a subtle difference can be recognized: in Hanhana and Hattina the couple Storm-god and Storm-god of Zippalanda is followed by the Storm-god of Nerik; the panthea of Hapatha, Išdammutar and Kaštama seem to have the reversed order, with the Storm-god of Nerik at the beginning.[23] It is likely that the following positions were filled with deities associated with each individual town's pantheon.

For the *šalli ašeššar* celebration all lists start with the same deities and divine couples of the pantheon of Hatti: After Tauri(t) and ŠUR.GAL follow the

22 Probably also the missing parts of the manuscript would follow the same pattern.

23 In this case, because of the gap, it is not possible to confirm that the Storm-god of Nerik was followed by the Storm-god together with the Storm-god of Zippalanda.

Sun-goddess and her daughter Tappinu (= Mezzulla); in the third (once also in the fourth) position seems to be occupied by a deity that is specific to the local pantheon.[24] The further continuation is preserved in only one list (Hapatha and Išdammutar). There, the pair Storm-god and Storm-god of Zippalanda follows; the next place is taken by a local deity (Tuhašail) that precedes the Storm-god of Nerik and the couple Zaliyanu – Tazuwaši (also attested in the section devoted to Kaštama). The last position is filled by the Storm-god of Nerik, a god whose important position in these two northern Anatolian panthea was also apparent in the list of the *ḫalentu* celebration.

4. Divine pairs of the pantheon of Hatti

The deities and divine pairs of the pantheon of Hatti worshiped during the Great Assembly are similar in the most important state festivals. A typical example is the offering list of the Old Hittite KI.LAM festival. There, Tauri(t) stands at the beginning of the list and is followed by ^{D}IŠKUR and Wašezzili and then the Sun-goddess and Tappinu (= Mezzulla). Even more similar to the sequences discussed above are the lists of the festival of *ZA-BA*$_4$*-BA*$_4$ on the fourth day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} festival.[25] To my knowledge the offering sequence that is most similar to the first section of the lists of KBo 23.89(+) is attested in a fragment of an unspecified day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} festival (KBo 4.13+ V 23 ff.; CTH 625):[26] ^{D}*Tauri*(*t*) (23–25), ^{D}UTU ^{D}*Tappinu* (26–29), ^{D}U É^{TIM} GAL (30–33), ^{D}U ^{D}U ^{URU}*Zippalanda* (34–38), etc. The "Storm-god of the (city) palace" corresponds to the Storm-god of the towns of Hapatha, Išdammutar and Kaštama in KBo 23.89(+);[27] it is not by chance that in the celebration at the local *ḫalentu*- ("palace") the local Storm-gods top the lists.

A unique feature of our offering lists is the presence of two obscure cuneiform signs in KBo 23. 89(+) obv. 7', Bo 5543+ obv. 1'?, rev. 1, 13?, 16.

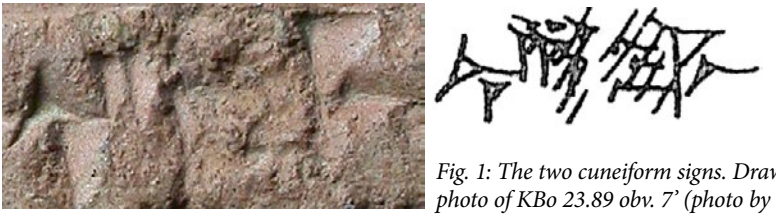

Fig. 1: The two cuneiform signs. Drawing and photo of KBo 23.89 obv. 7' (photo by the author)

24 For a similar pattern, but with different deities in the first two positions, see now Taracha 2009, 45.

25 For a summary of the attested lists of deities, cf. Yoshida 1996, 294 ff.

26 Badalì 1991, 80–81; Yoshida 1996, 172–74.

27 The fragmentary Hanhana and Hattina lists probably have to be reconstructed similarly.

With the exception of the last reference, they occur always in connection with Tauri(t). Tauri(t) is a goddess that harks back to the Old Hittite tradition. Her name has been interpreted as ta=uri=t "the vigorous one" from Hattian *uri* "strong" with the omittable feminine marker *t.*[28] The two problematic cuneiform signs are unlikely to represent an epithet of this goddess, since none of the other divine names in the lists are accompanied by attributes. The contexts – including the expression "seated/standing" – suggest that the signs represent a divine name, even though they are not preceded by the divine determinative.

Probably we are dealing with a Sumerogram; the second sign is clearly GAL, whereas the first could be read INANNA, ŠUR or, less likely, EN.

Since no verbs related to musical instruments are attested in any of the manuscripts, it is unlikely that the signs represent an abbreviated writing of GIŠ $^{(D)}$INANNA.GAL "big lyre". A reading EN.GAL[29] seems excluded because of the different shape of EN in KBo 23.89(+) obv. 14'. I therefore tentatively propose to read ŠUR. For the Sumerogram $^{(D)}$ŠUR van Gessel records KBo 22.125 obv. I 11, KUB 5.4+ II 6, KUB 18.12+ obv. I 53[30] and KUB 30.55 rev.? 6'.[31] It is also found in the personal name $^{m.D}$ŠUR-LÚ.[32] Further attestations of $^{(D)}$ŠUR are KBo 31.12+(+) obv. II 6' and KUB 41.16 + IBoT 4.309 obv. I 9*[], 14*[[33], this last text being a duplicate of the already cited KBo 22.125. CHD L/N suggested an equivalence of ŠUR(-*ga*-) with *ninga*-, which is confirmed by comparison between KBo 31.12+(+) obv. II 6' and its parallel KBo 31.27++ obv. II 1'.[34] It should be noted, however, that ŠUR(-*ga*-) does not always represent an epithet but also a deity; cf. KUB 41.16+ obv. I 8 ff. and KBo 22.125 obv. I 9 ff.:[35]

8 [*na*]*m-ma-kán ke-e-da-aš* ⌜*A*⌝*-NA* DI[(NGIR$^{\text{MEŠ}}$) BAL-*an-zi* (?) (^{D}*Ap-pa-lu-wa*)]
9 [*nu*?] ^{D}*La-pa-na* DUMU.MUNUS ^{D}*Ap-pa-l*[(*u-wa* ^{D}ŠUR-*ga-ya*)]
10 [*A-N*(*A*?) DING)]IR^{LIM}*-ma-aš-ma-aš* IR-⌜*an*⌝*-zi* [
[T]hen [they libate(?)] to these de[ities: Appaluwa,]
Lapana – daughter of Appal[uwa – and Ninga.]
And they make a request(?) to these [deit]ies.
9 *ši-pa-an-za-kán-zi-ma ku-u-uš* DINGIR$^{\text{MEŠ}}$
10 ^{D}*Ap-pa-lu-wa-an* ^{D}*La-pa-na-a-an*
11 [DUMU.]MUNUS ^{D}*Ap-pa-lu-wa* ^{D}⌜ŠUR-*ga*⌝*-ya*

28 Now Soysal 2005, 195 with literature; for references, see van Gessel 1998, 461–63.
29 Possibly comparable with the priestess(?) MUNUS.GAL of KBo 24.5 obv.? II 11' (Beckman 1983, 224 ff.).
30 Van Gessel 1998, 747. In KBo 22.125 obv. I 11 read ^{D}⌜ŠUR-*ga*⌝*-ya.*
31 CHD L/N, 445.
32 KUB 13.9+ rev. IV 10'; see Weeden 2011, 84.
33 Here ŠUR without the determinative for a deity; collation of the photo shows that the sign is ŠUR and not AN as indicated in the hand-copy (line 14).
34 Cf. (5') [x *ṬUP-PU* ^{D}*Ḫal-*]*ki-ya-aš mu-ga-a-u-aš* x[(6') [*ma-a-an*(-)] ^{D}ŠUR-*aš ni-ni-ik-z*[*i* with (1') [*ma-a-an*(-) ^{D}*Ni-i*]*n-*⌜*ga*⌝*-aš ni-ni-*⌜*ik*⌝*-z*[*i.* The two manuscripts run parallel also in the next paragraphs.
35 For a recent edition (without an identification of the deity), see F. Fuscagni, hethiter.net/: CTH 424.5 2015-22-12 and CTH 424.6 2016-05-01 with literature.

12 [*A-N*]*A*[?] ⌜DINGIR^{LIM}-*ma-aš-ma*⌝-[*aš* IR(?)]-*an-zi* [
And they libate to these deities:
Appaluwa (acc.), Lapana (acc.)
[– dau]ghter of Appaluwa – and Ninga.
And they [make a request(?)] to these deities.

The most convincing explanation of ^{D}ŠUR comes from the god-list An-*Anu ša amēli,* preserved already in two Middle Assyrian manuscripts. Line 56 attests the equivalence ^{D}ŠUR = ^{D}IŠKUR *ša zu-ni,* "Storm-god of the rain".[36] This interpretation also agrees well with the meaning of *ninga-* proposed by CHD: "cloudburst, drenching". ŠUR.GAL would then stand for "(Storm-god of the) strong rain" or "(Storm-god of the) great cloudburst".

5. Local panthea of northern Anatolia

KBo 23.89(+) attests fragmentary lists of deities that are of particular interest for the reconstruction of panthea of little known towns that are not covered by the major Hittite state festivals.[37]

For filling the gaps in KBo 23.89(+) we can use a number of other documents, the most important of which are the cult inventories KBo 39.48+ and KBo 34.106(+). These two texts date to the late Empire period and are therefore later than KBo 23.89(+).[38]

Because of some shared characteristics (script, findspot and, in particular, content), I originally believed that the tablet KBo 34.106 (+) KBo 21.81 indirectly joins KBo 39.48+.[39] Autopsy of the originals did, however, not confirm this hypothesis, and therefore I prefer to keep the fragments separate in the discussion.[40] On the same occasion, I was able to confirm that KBo 38.278 belongs to the same tablet as KBo 34.106(+). Based on the similar content of KBo 34.106(+) and KBo 39.48+, we are able to reconstruct the cultural and geo-

36 For an edition and commentary, see Schwemer 2001, 73–78 with literature. The comparison goes back to Goetze 1933, 211 fn.1 (^{D}ŠUR = *Adad ša zunni*).

37 For general treatments of the local panthea discussed in this section, see Haas 1994 and Taracha 2009 with literature.

38 KBo 23.89(+) is dated to the Empire period; for the script of these tablets, see Košak, Konkordanz.

39 See Corti *apud* Košak, Konkordanz (02-07-2014). See also the information given by Otten in the index of KBo 21, p. V, no. 81 "Einkolumnige Tafel" and in KBo 34, p. V, no. 106. Otten argues that there is a distance of ca. 7 lines between the two fragments. Note, however, that the fragment is too thick for a single-column tablet. For the same reason it is also difficult to maintain that the tablet was just 30 lines long.

40 I remain convinced, however, that both tablets were compiled by the same scribe and that they not only are texts of the same type but also deal with the same geographical area. I would like to thank İsmet Aykut and Mine Çifçi for their kind help and support during my work at the Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi, Ankara.

graphic setting of these inventories. Hazenbos already clarified the nature of the texts and their function (only from KBo 39.48):[41] They define and describe local panthea and the people in charge of the liturgical activities. In my view, the extant place names are consistent with a specific area of the Hittite kingdom in northern Anatolia; as we will see, they partially overlap with towns visited by the king in the festival tablet KBo 23.89(+).

5.1 Hanhana

Hanhana was one of the places – along with Durmitta and Tawiniya – where Telipinu was the head of the pantheon. In KBo 23.89 obv. 1'–16', we find in the first position after the standard divine pairs the deity [Hapa]ntali.[42] That this section refers to celebrations performed in Hanhana is confirmed by the mention of the Storm-god of Atalhazi, [Telipi]nu and Mount Takurga, all attested in the festival for Telipinu in Hanhana and Kaška (CTH 638) and/or in the relevant section of Muwatalli's Prayer to the Assembly of Gods. Deities such as Hatepinu – paired with Telipinu in CTH 638 – and the problematic GAL.ZU (the "Divine Cup") are confirmed as members of the pantheon of Hanhana.[43] New entries are the deity Andupepa (attested only here) and possibly the spring Ku[nnaniya].[44]

The region of Hanhana, which I locate in the province of Çorum, extended also to the West probably bordering on the province of Durmitta. It included settlements such as Kašha, Kuruštama and Harašta. Mount Takurga was situated close to Hanhana itself and had a prominent role in the city's cult attested in tablets from the Old Hittite (KBo 17.13+, 8) to the late Empire period.[45] A passage in KBo 54.134+ obv. I 6' attests a particular local dialect used in the cult of Hanhana: "[T]en men [of the town of Taka]lmuha sing in the language of Takurga."[46] Since all contexts in which the Takalmuhean men appear refer to the 'celebration of the prince' that took place in Hanhana and neighboring towns, Takalmuha certainly belonged to the Hanhana province.[47]

41 Hazenbos 2003, 99.
42 For this deity, see McMahon 1991, 14–16, Archi 1995, 13–18 and Haas 2002, 143–46.
43 For discussions of this deified object, see Yoshida 1996, 340–45 and Soysal 2010b, 346–48.
44 Or ^{TÚL}*Ma*-x[. Kunnaniya can be interpreted as a haplographic writing for Kuwannaniya, a well-known and widely attested name for springs. Probably the name of the source and the mineral ore *ku*(*wa*)*nna*(*n*)- have a common origin linked to their blue-green color. In light of this, it is not surprising to find more than one spring with this name; see Corti 2006b, 243 and cf. also Lebrun 2007, 462.
45 On the cult of this mountain, see Lombardi 2002, 497–506.
46 [1]0$^{?}$ ^{r}LÚ$^{¬ME}$[$^{Š\ URU}$*Tág/Ta-ga*]*l-mu*^{l}-*ḫa tág-gur-ku-um-ni-li pí-ra-an* SÌR<^{RU}>. Already del Monte 1992, 153 tentatively proposed the restoration of this toponym (now confirmed by Corti 2017, 221 fn. 23). Kryszeń 2016, 181 reads [^{URU}*Ḫ*]*a*^{l}-*pát-ḫa*.
47 For the localization of the region and the reconstruction of its geography see Corti 2017 220–22 and Kryszeń 2016, 144–190 with literature. The close proximity of ḪARašta with Kuruštama

5.2 Hattina

The next place that the sovereign visits on his pilgrimage is the town of Hattina that, as confirmed by other sources, was a day trip to the north of Hanhana. A number of settlements were located between the two towns, including Tappašpa and – according to KUB 60.148+ – Tašimuwa. An in-depth study on Tašimuwa was presented by Kryszeń;[48] here it is important to remember that KBo 38.278, which in line 6' mentions Tašimuwa, belongs to the inventory KBo 34.106(+). Accordingly we can restore line 6' as [DINGIR$^{MEŠ\ UR}$]^{U}*Ta-ši-mu-wa* ^{D}UT[U or [DINGIR$^{MEŠ\ URU}$*Ta-ši-mu-wa* ^{D}U ^{UR}]^{U}*Ta-ši-mu-wa* ^{D}UT[U. The local pantheon of Tašimuwa included not only the Sun-goddess(?) and Telipinu (line 7')[49] but, probably, also Taharu(l)la (line 8') and a mountain god (KUR) Šul[i?(-) (line 9'). Information on the local pantheon of Hattina is contained in KBo 12.140 – where the local Storm-god is mentioned – and in the Muwatalli Prayer (generic "male gods, female gods, mountains (and) rivers of Hattina"). The most important source is, however, the list of the divine statues of Hattina in the cult inventory KBo 34.106(+), where Zašhapuna is followed by the Storm-god, Mount Hahaya and Halki.[50] In our list Halki is in last position, preceded by the Storm-god of the Meadow (^{D}U Ú.SAL). It is worth noting that KBo 54.154 lists the gods of Hattina in a similar order (GAL.ZU, the Storm-god of the Meadow and Zašhapuna).[51]

5.3 Annapra

Almost nothing is known about the cult of Annapra, a town where the king stops on the way from Hattina to Zikmar. Our text only indicates a celebration for the local Sun-goddess.[52] Bo 3554, a fragment of ritual journey, mentions the same deity (^{D}UTU ^{URU}*An-na-ap-ra;* rev. IV? 2', 4') and, after a few lines, the town of *Ḫa-pa-taḫ-ḫa* (*andan pai-*; rev. IV? 6'–7'), certainly the same town as Hapatha of our text. The royal couple passed through Annapra on their way to Hapatha, also making a stop at the little-known town of Tittihašša. Because

is once more confirmed by a new restored passage from KBo 54.134+ rev. III 16'–18' (CTH 668) where I read: 3 LÚ ^{URU}*Ku-ru-uš-ta-ma*/1 LÚ ^{URU}{ḪAR-*aš-ta*} *pí-ra-an/ḫu-u-i-ya-an-zi* SÌR^{RU}; these two towns were located at the border between Arinna and Hanhana provinces. Concerning the texts attributed to CTH 668, I retain that KBo 10.9 and KBo 10.11 are fragments from the same tablet.

48 Kryszeń 2016, 182–84. Note, however, that Tašimuwa and Tatimuwa are two separate towns located in two different regions of the Hittite empire: between Hanhana and Hattina the former, in Zalpuwa the second (see Corti, 2017, 226–27).

49 The alternative restoration H]alipinu is less probable but cannot be excluded *a priori.*

50 Cf. del Monte-Tischler 1978, 101–2 and del Monte 1992, 36.

51 Transliteration in Groddek 2010, 109–10. For this fragment see also *infra.*

52 In the text ^{D}UTU ^{URU}*An-na-ap-pí.*

Zikmar was apparently very close to Hapatha (see *infra*), the ritual procession described in Bo 3554 follows almost the same itinerary as that of KBo 23.89(+).[53]

5.4 Hapatha and Išdammutar

The king celebrated the festivals for the deities of Hapatha and Išdammutar at the same time in Zikmar. It is therefore plausible that the two settlements were close to each other and shared the same pantheon with the exception of their own local Storm-gods. The panthea also include deities well-known from other towns, such as the Storm-god of Nerik, Tuhašail, Mount Kunkumušša and the spring Weriyadu.[54]

Mount Ku(n)kumušša was worshipped regularly by people responsible for its cult also according to the cult inventory KBo 39.48+; this is mentioned in a section that deals also with others mountain gods (KBo 24.117 r. col. 10'-15'). The cult inventory KUB 7.24+[55], which, according to its colophon, is concerned with the mountains Malimaliya and Haparhuna as well as the cities of Hawalkina and Takupša, states that the temple of Mount Kunkumušša had a statue representing Malimaliya and that celebrations for Malimaliya,[56] including a spring and autumn festival, were held there.[57] It seems that the next section still treats the worship of Malimaliya; ^{D}*Ḫa-š*]*a-mi-li-i*[*š* (obv. I 24–25; with a description of his statue) possibly belonged to Malimaliya's circle.

Thanks to a new join between KUB 7.24+ and Bo 4094, the beginning of the celebrations dedicated to Haparhuna are partially recovered: On behalf of Tuthaliya IV a statue of Haparhuna was made and placed inside the temple of Kunkumušša; at least one spring festival was performed for Haparhuna.[58] The

53 Confirmed by obv. III′, where the Storm-god of Nerik (line 2'), Hanhana (line 10') and the men of the Storm-god (line 11') are mentioned. Bo 3554 should be attributed to CTH 678 or, more precisely, to the 'festival of the journey to Nerik'.

54 This deified natural element, also worshipped in KBo 39.48+ rev. IV 1'–2', is attested with the divine determinative in KUB 56.32 IV 4', a fragment reflecting northern traditions; for this text, in which Weriyadu appears side by side with Ištanu, see Yoshida 1996, 73–75 and 237–38.

55 Ed. Hazenbos 2003, 26–30.

56 According to Forlanini 2010, 131 this building is to be located in the town of Tahniwara (similarly Miller 2005, 309 with literature). The text, however, does not explicitly state that the Kunkumušša temple was located in Tahniwara; a stele, and not the statue of Malimaliya, is brought to the top of a slope/rock in Tahniwara (Hazenbos 2003, 26). Therefore I retain that the temple was situated near the top of the mountain Kunkumušša. Tahniwara is also mentioned in KUB 30.68(+) rev. III 10, in a section that deals with compositions of the Zalpean and Nerikkean milieus. This suggests that Tahniwara was located to the north of Haharwa/Tavşan Dağı in the hilly territory from Ladik to Oymaağaç. For KUB 30.68(+), see Dardano 2006, 19ff, particularly 194–97. For the geographical scenario, see Corti, 2017, 224–5.

57 Malimaliya is also mentioned in the oracular document KUB 5.1+ obv. II 34, possibly in relation to Hurna and Tašmaha, but not in rev, III 8, where Beal 1999, 47, 49 restores ^{URU}*Ta*]*l-ma-li-ya*.

58 Join found by the author.

close proximity of these rocky peaks is confirmed by the right column of KBo 24.117. There, the description of the cult of Kunkumušša (lines 10'–11') is followed by a mention of $^{\text{ḪUR.SAG}}$*Ḫa-pá*[*r-ḫu-na*(-) (lines 14'–15').[59]

All these mountains may well be part of Mount Haharwa. The Tavşan Dağı – with which Haharwa is generally identified – is a mountain range of considerable size and is composed of several peaks. According to my reconstruction of the geography of the area, their location in the eastern part of the range, near the narrow passage between the Akdağ and the Tavşan Dağı, would fit the information provided by the texts dicussed here.[60] In fact, a significant number of towns were located in the valleys between these mountains and gravitated between the provinces of Hattina, Ištahara and Hakpiš. Mount Zaliyanu (the Akdağ?) is celebrated together with Tazuwaši in the Hapatha and Išdammutar liturgies. Zaliyanu and Tazuwaši are traditionally worshipped in Kaštama and Tanipiya, two towns situated on the northern side of the Akdağ beyond the narrow track.[61]

For the pantheon of Išdammutar there is no other information, but for Hapatha we can again refer to KBo 39.48+ rev. V 20'–24':[62]

> The gods of (the town of) Hapatha – the Storm-god, the Sun-goddess, the tutelary deity, *ZABABA,* Allinaššiš, the people of (the town of) Hapatha celebrate regularly. […] … the people of (the town of) Hapatha [celebrat]e [regularly].

We can conclude that the towns of Hapatha and Išdammutar, due to their vicinity, shared the same deities and festivals; they were situated, together with Zikmar, along – or just south of – the narrow passage between the Akdağ and Tavşan Dağı and represented importants stations on the pilgrimage to the holy city of Nerik.[63]

5.5 Kaštama

On the day dedicated to the celebrations for the Storm-god and the tutelary deity of Kaštama, all major deities of this religious center are worshipped. The pantheon of Kaštama is generally well known, but our festival tablet provides new details. In addition to the deities already mentioned, we find Zaliyanu,

59 Cf. the tentative proposal of Forlanini 2010, 131 fn. 59.

60 Coming from the south one can, on entering the wide plain of Merzifon, clearly distinguish different peaks of the Tavşan Dağı chain on the horizon.

61 Corti, 2017, 224–5.

62 See Hazenbos 2003, 99–102.

63 According to Kryszeń 2016, 101, 163 fn. 406, these towns should be located more to the south, between Hanhana and Hattina. In the plain of Merzifon there are archaeological sites of the second millennium B.C. (cf. Alıcık Höyük, Alacapınar Tepe and Onhoroz Tepe; see Dönmez 2008, 87–88 with map at 98) that could well correspond to the Hittite centers of the area described here.

the (Propitious) Day and Zašhapuna, who was a goddess linked to the city of Nerik[64] and connected to Kaštama as a member of the 'city triad' in the *purulli* festival. The primacy of the local Storm-god and the deified mountain Zaliyanu over Zašhapuna is not surprising, with the latter being relegated to the end of the list of deities worshipped in the temple of the Storm-god at Zikmar.

ŠUR.GAL, usually placed at the beginning of the list in the *šalli ašeššar* ceremony, here appears in the Kaštama circle together with the [Storm-god of Neri]k(?). It is difficult to assess his role, but one is tempted to associate ŠUR.GAL with the Storm-god of the Rain (^{D}U *ḫewaš*) of KUB 25.23++, a cult inventory that deals with cults of northern Anatolia.[65] In that tablet a whole section is dedicated to the Storm-god of the Rain (rev. IV 47'–50'):[66]

> Storm-god of the Rain. The *ḫuwaši* stands outside [the town (of …)$^{?}$]. His Majesty has instituted (it). The man who holds the god (statue) [carries] it […]. They put it down inside the temple of the Storm-god of Hattuša.[67] (There are)/½ *SUTU* of flour [(and) a *ḫanešša*-vessel of beer] for (the festival of) pouring into the *ḫarši*-vessel.

In the next paragraph the people responsible for the cult of the Storm-god of the Rain perform the spring festival with the ritual of the "opening of the *ḫarši*-vessel". It ends with a significant invocation (lines 57'ff): "Storm-god (of the Rain), my lord, provide rain in large amounts. Let the dark earth drink its fill. Let the thick bread of the Storm-god increase!"

The colophon, which lists the towns and deities covered by the tablet,[68] ends with "[PN$^{?}$] prepared/wrote(?) (it) [b]efore His Majesty Tuthaliya".[69] The further description of the cult of this god on the left edge of the tablet, i. e., after the colophon, is remarkable (l. e. a 1–5; b 1–5):

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64 For the celebrations dedicated to this goddess in the holy city of Nerik, see Corti 2009, 13–23, specifically 18–21.

65 For ^{D}U *ZUNNI,* cf. also KUB 30.39+ rev. 3' // (AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}, 38th day; "festival for the (Storm-god of) Rain") and KUB 6.45 obv. II 60 // (Prayer of Muwatalli to the Assembly of Gods; pantheon of Ankuwa). These attestations suggest that this god was also associated with Ankuwa (see Güterbock 1960, 84 and Singer 1996, 18, 61). For an overall discussion of this cult in Ankuwa, see Crasso 2005, 152. A festival of the rain is also performed in the cult of Karahna (KUB 38.12 obv. I 22) for the Storm-god of Šanantiya (KBo 2.1 rev. IV 8) and, possibly, the Storm-god of Hašuna (KUB 55.14 (+) obv. I 8'; cf. HW^{2} Ḫ, 579).

66 Ed. Hazenbos 2003, 30–40.

67 Rightly emended to <^{URU}> ^{GIŠ}GIDRU by Hazenbos 2003, 35 fn.79

68 The towns of Urišta and Hakpiš; the deities Telipuna/Telipinu, Huwattašši, Storm-god of the Thunderstorm and Storm-god of the Rain. Waal 2015, 372 proposes to restore the town of Parduwata in the colophon because the text mentions it as a contributor of one sheep. This is difficult to maintain unless there were two towns of this name; Parduwata is located in Central-West Anatolia and, usually the cult inventories deal with the cults of one specific region. The contribution of one sheep does not imply that the entire cult of Parduwata was described in the tablet; ritual texts often include contributors from outside the area in which the ceremonies took place.

69 See Carter 1962, 173, 176. Alternative interpretation by Miller 2005, 310.

Storm god of the Rain. On the Deaf Man's Tell he stands on a *paššu.* It becomes spring and the Man of the Storm-god goes down from Hakmiš. He carries 3 loaves of bread of one *UPNU* (and) 1 *ḫanešša*-vessel of beer from his house. The men of the Deaf Man's Tell deliver 1 black sheep, and the man of the Storm-god offers it. They slaughter it at the *ḫuwaši* for him. They lay out meat, from the raw (and) from the cooked.

Bread (and) beer, the men who (live) around the Deaf Man's Tell, they too deliver (it). They break thick bread. [They] fil[l] rhytons. They eat. They drink. They provide for the cups. (There is) entertainment. Lila-PIRIG has cut it short(??).[70]

Three geographical conclusions can be drawn with the regard to the cult of the Storm-god of the Rain: (1) He was worshipped in the town of Hakpiš. (2) His *ḫuwaši* was located outside the town. (3) It was situated on a slope/rock[71] of a "ruined town" (property) of a Deaf Man. If we accept that ŠUR.GAL of our festival tablet is comparable to the Storm-god of the Rain of this cult inventory, the data correspond also with regard to the geographical setting, since Kaštama, as I have recently argued, should be located in the district of Hakpiš.[72] It would therefore not be surprising if Kaštama and Hakpiš had some deities in common, one of them the Storm-god of the Rain.

The last deity preserved for this pantheon is Tahaštaru(-), a deity only attested here. The name clearly points to a Hattian milieu and can be analysed as taḫ(a)=(a)š[?] followed by the name of the Hattian Storm-god Taru. This composition of the name has parallels in other divine names of the Hattian and North Anatolian tradition, e. g., Tahašail, Tahattenuit, Tahawašezzu and perhaps Tahpillanu.[73] The cult inventory KBo 34.106 (+) KBo 21.81 obv. 9' mentions the Storm-god of the town of Dahattaruna (^{D}U ^{URU}*Da-ḫa-at-ta-ru-na*). In light of the formation of Tahaštaru, I would argue that the two deities should be identified.[74] It is not rare that a toponym has a corresponding divine name; cf., e. g., ^{URU}Tašhapuna and ^{D}T/Zašhapuna as well as ^{URU}Kammama and ^{D}Kammama. These deities belong to the category of tutelary local numens.[75]

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70 Cf. Hazenbos 2003, 40 fn. 92; see also Gordin 2015, 225 fn. 958 and Waal 2015, 372. One wonders whether this verbal expression *(kar-ta-it)* should be interpreted in a figurative sense as "separate": "Lila-PIRIG has separated it (due to lack of space)". The phrase may then refer to the placement of the text passages on the left edge after the colophon. In the only other case where this expression appears (KUB 13.32 l.e.) only a small portion of the edge is preserved and the extant text does not allow any further conclusions.

71 For this interpretation of *paššu*-, see de Martino 2006, 543–44; for an overview of the attestations, see CHD P 211–12.

72 See Corti, 2017, 224–5.

73 For a complete list, see Soysal 1998, 61; cf. also Pecchioli-Daddi 1998, 5–27.

74 Compare the deity Tahištanu/Tahittanu treated in Soysal 1998, 62 and fn. 12, with a full explanation of the variation (alternation s~t or contraction št →t(t)); now, with two occurrences in hand, the possibility of a mistake of the scribe can be excluded.

75 Haas 1970, 84. Cf. also the river Tahašta[of KUB 28.92 obv. 1.8'.

5.6 Zikmar

Due to the break, the tablet stops with the day dedicated to the gods of Kaštama. We do not know whether the continuation of the text also treated the pantheon of Zikmar. The pantheon of that town is described in KBo 39.48+ rev. IV 13'–18':

13' Storm-god of (the town of) Zikm[ar
14' Pirwa, (deity) A[-
15' Pentaruhši, … [
16' […] … the Holders of the Bronze Dish … [
17' The Storm-god to the spring Kuwanna[niya(?)
18' [the peop]le of (the town of) Zikmar [celebrate regularly.]

The paragraph lists the local Storm-god, Pirwa, the deity A[…], Pentaruhši. Further deities are lost in the break. The (same[?]) Storm-god could be worshipped by the citizens at the spring Kuwannaniya.[76] Even though Zikmar is rarely mentioned in the texts,[77] its cultic role was apparently of some significance. The town hosted celebrations of important neighboring centers, as is the case of Kaštama. According to our festival tablet the town had a palace and a temple, the latter dedicated to the local Storm-god. It seems highly likely that Zikmar was located in the territory between Hapatha and Kaštama.[78]

5.7 *Ḫa-zé*-ḪAR*

There were certainly other settlements in that same area between the provinces of Ištaḫara and Ḫakpiš, some of which poorly attested or even unknown. KBo 24.117 offers a long paragraph that, despite its damaged condition, provides useful information (l. col. 5'ff):

5' [… LÚ^{MEŠ} (?) ^{URU}*Ḫ*]*a-zé*-ḪAR EZEN$_4$.MEŠ
6']x TI-<*an*->*[?]ta-aš* LUGAL-*aš*
7' TI-*an-t*]*a-aš*(?) *ŠA A-BI* LUGAL
8']x *kiš-an-pát*
9']x-*en[?]-ki-wa-an*
10' ^{D} …(?) ^{URU}*Ḫa-z*]*é*-ḪAR KUR *Ḫa-ḫar-wa-aš*
11'] ^{r}D$^{\neg}$*ZA-BA$_4$-BA$_4$*
12']x ^{D}U Ú.SAL

76 The interpretation of the section proposed by Groddek 1998, 85–86, matches the scene described in KUB 17.35 rev. III 24–27. There, the priest leads the deity (statue) to the spring (see recently Taggar-Cohen 2006, 189). According to Groddek Privat 31 (Maul 1990, 189–90) is a parallel.

77 Cf. also the cult inventory fragment KBo 26.224, line 2', ed. Hazenbos 2003, 121.

78 As I already argued, Kaštama could not be on the main road to the North, due to its absence in a pilgrimage to Nerik (Corti 2017a, 224–5); the worship of the deities of Kaštama in Zikmar may be due to its comparatively peripheral location.

13’]x ᵀᴰ⌝EREŠ.KI.GAL
14’ ᴰU(?) ᵁᴿᵁ*Ḫa-*]⌜*a*⌝[*-a*]*r*[79]*-pí-ša-aš*

The presence of Mount Haharwa in line 10’ suggests that the other deities of this section belonged to a local pantheon of northern Anatolia. The fragmentary passage preceding the oronym probably represents the final part of the relevant town’s name: *Ḫa-zé-*ḪAR. The same town is also mentioned at the very beginning of the section (line 5’). The pantheon of *Ḫa-zé-*ḪAR included a local Storm-god(?), Mount Haharwa, *ZABABA,* the Storm-god of the Meadow, EREŠ. KI.GAL and the Storm-god(?) of the town of Harpiša. The restoration ᵁᴿᵁ*Ḫ*]*a-zé-*ḪAR is confirmed by the presence of the same toponym in KBo 45.273 l.e. 3.[80] The context there refers to the territory between Hakpiš, Kaštama and Hattina too. This last fragment, examined by van den Hout,[81] contains some expressions that, in my opinion, confirm its proximity to KBo 24.117 and, partially, also to KUB 42.100:

obv. 1’ [x ᴸᵁ.ᴹᴱŠ⁽ʔ⁾]SANGA[*-ŠU*
2’ [ᵐ*K*]*a-ra-an-ni*[*-iš*
3’ ᵐ*Lu-wa-an-za-aš-š*[*a*

4’ 1*ᴺᵁ-ᵀᴵᴹ* ⌜ᴳᴵŠ⌝LE⌝.U[5[82] *ŠA* ᵁᴿᵁ*Ne-ri-ik* (?)]
5’ *ŠA* ᵁᴿᵁ*Ḫa-ak-miš-š*[*a*
6’ KASKAL ᵐ*Zu-ú-pád-d*[*a*
7’ *A-BI A-BI* ᴰUTU*ŠI-za-ká*[*n*
8’ LUGAL*-iz-na-an-ni e-ša-a*[*t*
9’ ᵀᴰUTU⌝- x[ ]x GU[Lʔ
10’ ᴳᴵŠʔ[
11’ KÙ.BABBAR-x[

l.e. 1 [ ]x x x[
2 [ᵁᴿ]ᵁ*Kaš-ta-ma* KUR ᵁ[ᴿᵁ*Ḫa-ak-miš*(?)
3 [ᵁ]ᴿᵁ*Ḫa-zé-*ḪAR ᵁᴿᵁx[
4 [ᵁ]ᴿᵁ*Ḫa-*⌜*at-te*⌝*-na* ᵁ[ᴿᵁ
5 [ᵁ]ᴿᵁ*Ḫa-*⌜*an*⌝*-ḫa-na* ᵁᴿᵁ*T*[*a*ʔ*-ḫur-pa*(?)
6 LUGALʔ ⌜*ḫa*ʔ⌝-x-x x x-x-x
obv. 1’ [his(?)] priest[s(?)
2’ [*K*]*aranni*[…
3’ [an]d *Luwanza*[

4’ One set of (woodenʔ) writing board [of the town of Nerik(?)]
5’ an[d] of the town of Ḫakmiš[
6’ “*Via*” Zupadd[a and …(?) When]

79 Compare the full preserved *ar* sign in line 2’ of the same fragment (photo BoFN03551).
80 Differently Roszkowska-Mutschler 2005, 331.
81 van den Hout 2006, 283–84.
82 Restored according to van den Hout 2006, 284.

7’ the grandfather of his Majesty[
8’ seate[d] in kingship.[
9’ … [ ] … [
10’ wooden[?]
11’ silver … [

l.e. 1 [ ]… [
2 [the to]wn of Kaštama, the country of the to[wn of Hakmiš(?)
3 [the to]wn of *Ḫa-zé-*ḪAR, the town of..[
4 [the to]wn of Hattina, the t[own of
5 [the to]wn of Hanhana, the town of T[ahurpa(?)
6 The king[?] …

Only the beginning of the left side of the tablet is preserved, but one can still recognize that the order of the place names follows a north-south direction. Usually the itineraries of journeys to the North show the opposite direction. The list of towns appears similar to the one treated in our festival text and in the cult inventories KBo 39.48+ and KBo 34.106(+).

5.8 Ištaḫara

The province of Ištahara too seems to be treated in KBo 21.81. This fertile territory should be located much more northward than hitherto assumed, with its northern stretches reaching the plain of Merzifon.[83] The regional pantheon is recorded by KBo 21.81 (+) KBo 34.106 obv. 8ff as follows:

8 ^{D}U ^{URU}*Iš-da-ḫar* ^{D}U É ^{r}^{D}UTU$^{¬}$ A[N^{E}
9 ^{D}U ^{URU}*Da-ḫa-at-ta-ru-na* ^{D}U *Ḫa-a*[*š-tu-u-*(*wa-*)*aš*[84]
10 ^{D}U ^{URU}*Zi-pal-an-da* ^{D}U *Da-ḫ*[*a-*
11 ^{D}U É ^{D}UTU ^{D}LAMMA ^{D} *ZA-BA*$_4$*-B*[*A*$_4$
12 ^{r}^{D}U *Tar*$^{¬}$*-ma-at-na-aš* ^{D}MAḪ*-aš* ^{D}[
13 [^{D}EREŠ.K]I.GAL ^{D}*Ḫa-tág-ga-aš*[?][
14 [$^{ḪUR.SAG}$*Iš-da-ḫ*]*a-ru-nu-aš* ^{r}*ták*$^{¬}$*-ká*[*n*[?](-)
15 [K]Ù.BABBAR GUŠK[IN

83 See Corti 2017, 223.

84 See KBo 24.117 rev. IV 7’; for the restoration, cf. the festival tablet KUB 60.147 that treats the same cultic area, as illustrated by Lebrun 2005, 129–37, in particular 133. Note that the toponym Haštuwa is not always preceded by the determinative URU (with in KUB 55.54+ obv. I 34, KUB 60.147 rev. IV[?] 2; without in KBo 21.81 (+) KBo 34.106 obv. 9, KBo 24.117 r. col. 7’, KUB 38.30 obv. 5’ - read ^{r}^{D}U *Ḫa*$^{¬}$*-aš-tu-u-wa*[*-aš* - and KUB 60.147 rev. IV[?] 5, 14, 26). For other restoration proposals, see Forlanini 2008, 169 and Taracha 2010, 354.

The presence of the Storm-god of Išdahar(a)[85] at the beginning of the paragraph and in first position in the gods list indicates that all following deities were part of the same pantheon. The Storm-god of Dahataruna was also included in the pantheon of Kaštama (there ^{D}Dahaštaru; cf. KBo 23.89(+)). The list continues with the Storm-god of the House (twice), the Sun-god of Heaven,[86] the Storm-god of Haštuwa (worshipped by the people of Urišta in KBo 39.48+), the Storm-god of Zippalanda and the Storm-god of (the town of?) Dah[a-,[87] the tutelary deity, the war-god *ZABABA,* the Storm-god of the Fastening, Hannahanna, EREŠ.KI.GAL, H/Katakka and, finally, Mount Ištaharunuwa.[88] The range of toponyms included in this list shows that the pantheon of the entire district (not only of the town of Ištahara) is recorded. Haštuwa should be located in the vicinity of Urišta and near the border to Ḫakpiš. Mount Ištaharunuwa served as the east and south-east border between Ištaḫara and Kammamma, as indicated by the fact that this mountain was worshipped in both regions. The cult inventory KUB 38.2 also seems to refer to this buffer area, mentioning Mount Ištaharunuwa, which is represented by a silver plated *ḫutuši*-vessel for wine, and (the men of) Kammamma. Some of the deities mentioned there correspond to those of the section on Ištahara here. Especially the presence of two Storm-gods of the House in both texts is worth noting;[89] it is possible that this mountain should be identified with the peak of the Karadağ or of the Sarıtaş Dağı.[90]

The presence of EREŠ.KI.GAL in the Ištahara pantheon – and in other local panthea of North-Central Anatolia – is not surprising. *Taknaš* ^{D}UTU (identified only later with EREŠ.KI.GAL) is already attested in a prominent position in the Old Hittite "Invocation for Hattian deities" (CTH 733) as well as in the Empire period "Celebration in the Zalpuwa Land" (CTH 667; here with the double hypostasis of EREŠ.KI.GAL and Ammamma) and in CTH 3.2. She was therefore one of the deities of the pantheon of Zalpuwa from the beginning to the end of the Hittite Empire. It is interesting to note that the Sun-goddess of the Earth is almost never found in original Old Hittite texts. Also her identification with EREŠ.KI.GAL and the association with the ancient gods cannot be

85 The identity of Išdahar and Išdahara is further confirmed by KUB 60.147 that has both spellings (obv. III 14': LÚ ^{URU}*Iš-da-ḫar,* rev. IV$^{?}$ 12: LÚ ^{URU}*Iš-da-ḫa-ra*); cf. Otten 1976–80, 208.

86 Rightly interpreted by van Gessel 1998, 874; differently Taracha 2010, 354 (^{D}*Wa-aš-*[*ša-an-ta-ta-iš*$^{(?)}$).

87 Taracha 2010, 354, restores Dah[aya, but this is not certain. If so, this would be the only attestation of Dahaya without URU; also *da-ḫ*[*a-at-ta-ru-na* is possible, even if this deity is found in line 9. The inclusion of the Storm-god of Zippalanda and, possibly, of Dahaya does not show that the area under discussion was close to the territory of Zippalanda (differently Taracha). Deities of such importance were worshipped in different panthea also far from their place of origin.

88 Further deities of that local pantheon were the Sun-god(dess) of Ištahara according to KUB 5.1+ II 106 and Hatepinu, Halki and *TAŠMETU*(*M*) according to KUB 60.147 (Lebrun 2005, 129–37).

89 For a summary table of the content of KUB 38.2, see Cammarosano 2012, 525–26.

90 Corti 2017a, 222 with literature.

traced before the Middle Hittite period. Apart from KBo 17.7++ rev. IV², 7'–8', the references in CTH 733 are the only direct testimony of her cult during the Old Hittite period. From early on the Sun-goddess of the Earth had a cult not only in North-Central Anatolia, but also in the Central Black Sea Region, an area that certainly belonged to the Hattian milieu; in light of this information the conclusion that the "Hittite" *taknaš* ^{D}UTU was a deity of southern origin or of the Luwian tradition must be re-examined.[91]

5.9 Ḫarpiša and a parallel road to the North

The town of Harpiša, which belonged to the administrative district of Ištahara,[92] is mentioned not only in KBo 24.117 l. col. 14', but also in the Middle Hittite fragment KBo 52.20 + KBo 67.118.[93] In KBo 52.20+ Harpiša occurs together with other northern Anatolian place names. The tablet refers to Inar of Zithara,[94] a deity (in lacuna) of Ištahara, the "Lady of the Palace" (NIN.É.GAL) of Harpiša, the Storm-god of Harpanda and, in the next paragraph, the Storm-god and Ḫatepinu(?) of Nerik. According to KBo 52.20+, the pantheon of Harpiša included not only NIN.É.GAL, but also Halmašuit.[95] The cult inventory KBo 52.100 rev. 2', 10' names the local Storm-god and "the gods of Harpiša".[96] The prayer of Muwatalli lists for Harpiša only "male gods, female gods, mountains (and) rivers". The position that Harpiša occupies in the list of the prayer is significant: It is preceded by Hattina and followed by Kalimuna and Ḫakpiš.[97]

I would argue that the sequence of cities in KBo 52.20+ follows a coherent geographical route from south to north: Zithara, Ištahara, Harpiša, Harpanda, Nerik. This itineray possibly reflects the main stages of a more eastern route that ran parallel to the main road to the north and crossed the Ištahara region.

As I tried to show elsewhere, the northernmost limits of the Ištahara region were south-southwest of Amasya and bordered directly on the Hakpiš province.[98] The Hakpiš district, which occupied the narrow passage between the Akdağ and the Tavşan mountains, included towns like Hapatha, Taštarissa and Kaštama. The proximity of Hapatha and Taštarišša is indirectly supported by the

91 Corti 2006b, 290; Corti 2010a, 97 fn. 21, Corti 2017b, 200, and my paper "The Land of Zalpuwa and the Origins of Hittite Kingship", read at the conference *Sacred Landscapes of Hittites and Luwians* held at Florence University (February 6–8, 2014). For a different view, see Steitler 2017, 276–78.

92 About the town of Harpiša see Corti 2017a, 222.

93 Wilhelm 2010, 268–72.

94 For a localization of this town close to the area of Cemilbey, at the confluence of the Çorum Çay with the tributary Alaca, cf. Corti 2017a, 221–22.

95 See Wilhelm 2010, 271 with literature.

96 Cf. KBo 52, p. VII, no. 100, with references.

97 del Monte and Tischler 1978, 89. Also in KUB 36.90 (evocation of the Storm-god of Nerik) a mountain Harpiša is mentioned.

98 Corti 2017a, 222–23.

fact that both towns were associated with Kaštama; cf. KBo 23.89(+) and KUB 20.80 rev. III⸮ 1'ff. This leads me to restore the place name Taštarišša in KBo 39.48(+) rev. V 28', 29', where only a few lines before the pantheon of Hapatha is described (V 20'–24').[99]

6. An outline tablet of the "Festival of the journey to Nerik"?

In section 5 various settlements were discussed not only with regard to local pantheon and cult, but also from a geographical point of view. Since the beginning and the end of the festival tablet KBo 23.89 (+) are lost, the text passages that would typically allow an attribution to a specific festival (introductory clauses and colophon) are missing. According to the content, the text seems to describe a pilgrimage made by the king to the north of the country. A few sources concerned with cultic travels of the king may help to fill these gaps. A first significant document in this regard is KUB 60.148 + Bo 8284. The colophon reads:[100]

10' DUB II^{KAM}
11' *ŠA* ^{D}U ^{URU}*Ne-ri-ik*
12' SAG.UŠ^{NIM}
13' *ku-it-ma-an* ^{URU}*Ta-ḫur-pa-az*
14' ^{URU}*Ḫa-pa-at-ḫa* [*a*]*n*⸮-⌜*da*⸮⌝-*an*
15' *Ú-UL* *Q*[*A-TI*]
Second tablet: Of the regular (festival) of the Storm-god of Nerik. When (one goes) from Tahurpa to Hapatha. Not com[plete].

The brief description of the journey here should not be interpreted as a single stage without intermediate stops. Note that the tablet from obv. I 1 deals with a stage starting from Hanhana and not from Tahurpa; the travel from Tahurpa to Hanhana probably had already been treated in a previous tablet.

Tahurpa clearly was the main point of departure of the "journey to Nerik". Its location is controversially discussed. The most plausible proposal locates it in the area to the north northeast of Hattuša, perhaps at Eskiyapar.[101] Further data comes from the direct connection of Tahurpa with Hanhana demonstrated by the festival fragment KBo 52.161 obv.⸮ II/III⸮ 5'–8':[102]

99 ^{D}UTU ^{URU}*Ta-a*[*š*⸮*-ta-ri-iš-ša*/^{D}U ^{URU}*Ta-aš*⸮[*-ta-ri-iš-ša.*

100 Join J. Lorenz (*apud* Košak, Konkordanz). For a transliteration of KUB 60.148, see Groddek 2006, 148–50; for Bo 8284, see Taş 2014, 7. For a new treatment, see Kryszeń 2016, 101, with slight modifications.

101 For an extensive discussion of the location of this city and its hinterland, see Sir Gavaz 2012, 31–43 and Kryszeń 2016, 89–110.

102 Thus KBo 52, p. IX–X, 33 (no. 161). Such a link also appears to be attested in KUB 44.18, precisely in relation to the road to Nerik; cf, also KBo 48.35 (Nakamura 2002, 113). The proximity between Tahurpa and Hanhana has been denied by Taracha 2007, 188–89.

5’ [*lu*]-*uk-kat-ta-ma-kán* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL
6’ [UR]U*Ta-ḫur-pa-az da-an-zi*
7’ [*n*]*u I-NA* URU*Ḫa-an-ḫa-ni an-da-an*
8’ [*I*]Š-*TU* GIŠGIGIR *pa-iz-zi*
On the next day the king (and) queen take (to the road) from Tahurpa. (The king) goes into Hanhana by chariot.

The town of Hanhana is probably to be sought near the modern city of Çorum.[103] Hanhana is mentioned also in our text KBo 23.89(+) and clearly was a stage on the king’s cultic journey to the north of the country.

Another important document for our purposes is the festival tablet KUB 44.18.[104] One section of the text (obv. 9’–12’) mentions Tahurpa, the “journey to Nerik” (obv. 10’) and Hakmiš.[105] The content is so damaged that is impossible to reconstruct the events described. The next paragraph is set off by a double line that probably indicates the beginning of the next day: [“The next day the kin]g g[oes(?)] with the chariot to Hanhana”[106]; then the men of Kuruštama are mentioned (obv. 15’, 17’). The reverse of the same tablet adds interesting information (rev, 1’–13’):

x+1’ [ ]x x[
2’ [ ]DINGIR.MEŠ URU*N*[*eʾ-ri-ik*(?)
3’ [URU]*Ḫa-pa-at-t*[*aḫʾ-ḫa*(?)
4’ [URU]*Ḫa-pa-at-*[*taḫ-ḫa*(?)
5’ [ ]x *ma-ni-i*[*nʾ-*
6’ [LUGA]L-*uš* DINGIR.MEŠ[URU*Ne-ri-ik*(?)
7’ [-*k*]*ánʾ* UDUḪI.A[
8’ [x+ NINDA.GU]R$_4$.RAʔḪI.A x[

9’ DUB IK[AM *Ú-UL*(?) *QA-TI*]
10’ Š[*A* EZEN$_4$ KASKAL URU*Ne-ri-ik*(?)]
11’ EGIR-*an tar-nu*[-*u-ma-aš* (*ku-it-*)*ma-a-an* (LUGAL-*uš IŠ-TU*) (?)]
12’ URU*Ta-ḫur-pa ar*[-*ḫa u-iz-zi nu*(?)]
13’ URU*Zi-ni-iš-ḫa*[-*pí pa-iz-zi*(?)]
First tablet. [Not(?) complete:] O[f the festival on the journey to Nerik.(?)] [Of] leav[ing] behind. [When one (the king) leaves(?)] Tahurpa [and goes to(?)] Zinišhapa.[107]

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103 See Corti 2006b, 269–74; idem 2010b, 151 and fn. 42. Camatta 2006, 263–70 proposed the area between Çorum and Merzifon.
104 For a summary of the controversial debate about the characterisation of this text, see Kryszeń 2016, 102 fn.s 256–57.
105 Hakmiš may be mentioned as an alternative stage to a partially broken location, according to Soysal 2010a, 789 Kammamma.
106 [*lu-kat-*]*t*[*aʾ-ma* LUGAL-*u*]*šʔ* ⌜URU*Ḫa-an-ḫa*⌝*-ni an-da-an* GIŠGIGIR-*aš-za p*[*aʾ-iz-zi*(?)]; this place name was rightly identified by Soysal 2010a, 789 (followed by Kryszeń 2016, 102).
107 Cf. Waal 2015, 374–75.

If my restoration in rev. 3'–4' is correct[108] the reference to Hapatha supports the hypothesis that the text is concerned with a travelling festival that took place along the same path as that of KBo 52.161. The tablet would show that the pilgrimage of the king led from Tahurpa to Zinišhapa via Hanhana, Hattina and Hapatha.

Thanks to KUB 56.35 it is possible to attribute at least one further tablet to this cultic journey.[109] The colophon reads (rev. IV):[110]

x+1 [DUB.x.^{K}] ^{AM} ⌜*ŠA*⌝ EZEN$_4$ ^{URU}*N*[*e-ri-ik*]
2' *KA-A-YA-MA-NIM* KASKAL [^{URU}*Ne-ri-ik*]

3' *ki-e-da-ni-iš-ša-an tup-p*[*í* EZEN$_4$] ⌜ḪI.A⌝ [^{URU}*Ne-ri-ik*]
4' *zi-*⌜*in-na*⌝*-an-te-š*
[… tablet:] Of the festival of N[erik,] of the regular journey to [Nerik]. On this table[t the festival]s [of Nerik] are concluded".

The worship of the Storm-god of Nerik seems to be the *Leitmotiv* of the pilgrimage along the road to the holy city; cf. the mention of this god in the colophon of KUB 60.148 + and in KUB 44.18 obv. 16'. The presence of the Storm-god of Nerik in all local panthea of KBo 23.89(+) fits this general tendency. Also KBo 54.154 could be ascribed to the same group of texts, as it presents lists of gods, linked to Hattina and perhaps Hanhana, and mentions a journey in connection with the Storm-god of Nerik.[111]

At this point we should introduce a well-known passage from the *nuntarriyašḫaš* festival that explicitly mentions the festival of the journey to Nerik (KUB 10.48 obv. II 21–23 // IBoT 2.8 obv. 10–12 // KBo 52.114 obv. II 7'–9'):[112]

21 … *I-NA* É ^{LÚ}*A-BU-*[(*BI-TI-m*)*a*]
22 *A-NA* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *A-BU-BI-TI* EZEN$_4$ *ŠA* KASKAL ^{URU}*Ne-ri-i*[*k*]
23 *i-ya-an-zi* UD XVI^{KAM} *ŠA* KASKAL ^{URU}*Ne-ri-ik*
In the house of the *ABUBĪTI*-men they perform the festival on the journey to Nerik for the *ABUBĪTI* gods. 16th (or 5th) day: Of the journey to Nerik".

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108 ^{URU}]*Ḫa-pa-at-t*[*aḫ*$^{?}$*-ḫa.* There are many spellings of this toponym: *Ḫa-pa-taḫ-ḫa; Ḫa-ba-taḫ-ḫa Ḫa-ba-at-ḫa Ḫa-pa-at-ḫa Ḫa-pát-ḫa Ḫa-ap-pa-at*[*-ḫa*(?). Soysal 2010a, 789, proposes to restore a divine name ([*Duš*]*ḫapadd*[*u*$^{?}$]); this seems contextually less likely.

109 Cf. also the colophon of KUB 25.36.

110 For the restoration *ŠA* in line 1' cf. the same sign in line 3'. The transliteration and restorations proposed here matches that recently published by Tischler (2016, 56–57); cf. also Popko 1988, 91; differently Torri 2004, 466.

111 See Forlanini 2008, 166 and Groddek 2010, 109–10. For this fragment I propose the following restorations: rev. 3': *pu*]*r-pu-ru-uš;* 4': ^{É}*ḫa-le-en-t*]*u-u-wa-aš;* 8': ^{D}U ^{URU}⌜*Zi*⌝-[*ippalanda;* 12': ^{UR}]^{U} ⌜*Ne*⌝-[*ri-ik.*

112 Nakamura 2002, 21; Corti 2007, 165–66.

The proposal by Weeden to consider the *ABUBĪTI* men as substitutes of the king in the celebration of the festival offers interesting prospects.[113] Alternatively, we may also think that in some cases the celebration was celebrated by the king himself in Hattuša. Cf. the following passage from KUB 2.15+ (rev. V 16–24):

16 GAL *ME-ŠE-DI* NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA ^{URU}*Ne-ri-ik*
17 LUGAL-*i tar-kum-mi-ya-iz-zi*

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18 LÚ ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR 6 NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA *ŠA UP-NI* ^{UR}[^{U} *Ne-ri-ik*(?)]
19 ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-*az* LUGAL-*i me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-d*[*a ti-ya-zi/pa-a-i*(?)]

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20 LÚ ^{GIŠ}GIDRU *pé-ra-an ḫu-u-wa-a-i* LÚ [
21 *UŠ-KE-EN na-an a-še-ša-an-zi*

---

22 ^{D}UTU^{ŠI} *ku-it I-NA* KASKAL ^{URU}*Ne-r*[*i-ik*]
23 *Ú-UL pa-it nu ku-u-un* NINDA.GUR$_4$.R[A ^{URU}*Ne-ri-i*(*k-*<*ka-*>*az*)]
24 *a-pád-da-an ú-da-an-zi*
The chief of the bodyguards announces to the king (the arrival of) the thick loaf (offering) of the town of Nerik.
The waiter [puts/gives] 6 thick loaves (made) of *UPNU* (of flour) of the tow[n of Nerik(?)] from/with the table toward/before the king.
The scepter-bearer goes in front, the man [ ] bows and they seat him.(?)
Because His Majesty did not go on a journey to the town of Nerik, they bring this thick loaf (offering) from [Neri]k there (to Ḫattuša?).[114]

The last part of the passage,[115] partly restored based on the duplicate Bo 3801,[116] confirms that the festival could be celebrated in a different place from Nerik, but that the cancellation of the journey entails the sending of (special?) bread offerings from Nerik. The reference to the failure of the king to travel to Nerik reveals that usually the journey was accomplished, as confirmed by the content of the texts treated in this article. The 'imaginary' journey in the Hittite capital or in a nearby town set up in order to replace the trip to Nerik was the exception that proves the rule.

It cannot be excluded that the celebration of the "festival of the journey to Nerik" within the *nuntarriyašḫaš* reflects a specific situation at the time of the draft of one of the versions of this important state festival at a time when it was problematic to reach Nerik because of Kaškean raids or other reasons. I would like to argue that KUB 2.15+ (and its dupl. Bo 3801) should indeed be attrib-

113 Weeden 2011, 140.
114 See the interesting suggestion in Schuster 1974, 25 fn. 72.
115 Cf. the treatment by Haas 1970, 54 fn. 2. Recent transliteration in Groddek 2009, 97–102 with literature.
116 Fragment attributed by Corti *apud* Košak, Konkordanz.

uted to the "(festival) of the journey to Nerik" celebrated on the 16th/5th day of the *nuntarriyašḫaš* festival (CTH 626).[117]

In addition to KBo 23.89(+) also the cult inventory KBo 39.48+ deals with panthea of centers that were on the final stretch of the route to Nerik. This is confirmed by the reference to Kašduha and Taštarišša in rev. V 7' and V 28'–29'. Kašduha is also mentioned in KUB 53.16 rev. V 15', 17', another cultic text concerned with the journey to Nerik. Here the king passes through Kaštama (V 12'), reaches Kašduha and continues toward Za/inišhapa (V 24'); then he concludes the journey to Nerik (*Nerikka iyannai;* VI 6'). As demonstrated by Forlanini,[118] Taštarišša was the starting point of the last stage toward Nerik. KUB 58.33 attests the itinerary Nerik – Taptina – Taštarišša. KUB 40.106 describes the same route, but in opposite direction: Taštarišša – Martuwa – Pikainarišša – Taptina (gap). In the latter text, after Taptina, one should certainly restore Za/inišhapa.[119] Za/inišhapa was the last significant town before reaching Nerik and was located not far from Kašduha.

7. Conclusions

The regions and local cults covered by KBo 23.89(+) suggest that the tablet describes an important cultic occasion. The festival of the journey to Nerik was included in the *nuntarriyašḫaš* festival, but as transmitted in KBo 23.89(+) it clearly represents an independent festival. The absence of day numbers at the end of the paragraphs shows that the tablet was not a *nuntarriyašḫaš* outline tablet.[120] It is, nevertheless, a summary tablet because the ritual actions are condensed and the descriptions often repetitive. The expression "day of the deity/ day of the city" at the beginning of each new section without relevant details of the individual ceremonies fits such an interpretation too.

The description of at least six days can partly be reconstructed, but it is difficult to estimate the total time spent on the cultic journey. The text preserves only the Hanhana – Hattina and Hattina – Annapra – Zikmar stages. The ultimate places of departure and arrival are not preserved, but Tahurpa and Nerik are the most plausible candidates. Such a journey, even without interruption by religious activities, took at least six days by foot.[121] Because of longer stays

117 According to the outline tablets, see Nakamura 2002, 6 f., 111 f. and Corti 2007, 165–66. Bo 4097 and KBo 48.35 may also have to be attributed to that day.

118 Forlanini 2010, 120–121

119 Obv. II' 14: [UR]U*Z*[*i-ni*]-*iš-ḫa-p*[*a.* For the alternating vowel a/i, cf. Kaššiya/Kiššiya, Zapišhuna/ Zipišhuna and Kaškilušša/Kiškilušša; see recently Barjamovic 2011, 273 fn. 1066. According to Soysal 2010a, 789–90 the double spelling indicates the existence of two different towns.

120 The proposal of Haas 1970, 53 fn. 3 is no longer sustainable, because the restoration of Kapata in obv. 9' is now obsolete.

121 Two days from Tahurpa to Hanhana and four days from Hanhana to Nerik; see Corti 2017a, 222 with literature.

at individual cultic centers it is impossible to calculate the entire duration of the festival; in Zikmar, for example, the king stayed for two days. The missing part of the obverse probably described the ritual actions in Tahurpa at the beginning of the festival. In the lost second part of the reverse, the celebrations in the other centers along the way to Nerik were probably treated, especially [Kaštama/Hakpiš(?)], Taštarišša and Zinišhapa.

Although more than half of the cult inventory KBo 39.48+ is lost, it is possible to list the places treated: (rev. IV) Dahataruna, Zikmar, (rev. V) Takduša, Kašduha, Hapatha, Mar[i…], Ta[štarišša](?), and, after a lacuna, Išdahiša, Haštuwa Uri[šta], Mount Kunkumušša, Mount […], Mount Hapa[rhuna]; (rev. VI) lacuna, Hazehar, Mount Haharwa and Harpiša. All these places seem to belong to a zone between the provinces of Hattina, Ištahara and Hakpiš as well as lands close to the Haharwa mountain chain.

The cult inventory KBo 34.106(+), which in rev. IV? 5 mentions the "festival of the journey of the king", seems to focus on the area immediately south of the region covered by KBo 39.48+. In addition to Hanhana, it deals with Hattina, the province to which Tašimuwa belonged, and Ištahara. Due to the fragmentary state of the text a clear geographical sequence is difficult to reconstruct. KBo 34.106(+) rev. IV? 5'-6' (colophon?) states "[this tablet(?)]/i[s] sealed." Probably there was a seal impression in the center of this tablet (cf. KUB 25.32+, festival of Karahna, CTH 681). If my restoration in obv. I 3 is correct (^{D}UTU^{ŠI} *Tu-uṯa-li-ya-aš*), the "grandfather of the king" of rev. IV? should be Muršili II, as has been recently argued.[122] An identification of the Kantuzzili mentioned in rev. IV? 7' with Kantuzzili, father of Ura-Tarhunta, who supported Hattušili against Urhi-Teššup, is chronologically difficult. I have argued that both cult inventories were written by the same scribe; this would imply that KBo 39.48+ too should be dated to Tuthaliya IV.

Taking together all of the information provided by the texts treated here, it is possible to reconstruct the probable stages of the king's pilgrimage to Nerik: Tahurpa → Hanhana → Hattina → Zikmar/Hapatha → [Kaštama/Hakpiš(?) →] Taštarišša → Zinishapa → Nerik.

With regard to the local panthea involved it is remarkable that the otherwise little-known god ŠUR.GAL together with Tauri(t) forms the initial divine pair in several of the pantheon lists. This innovation may be due to a desire of the Empire-period sovereigns to revitalize the religious activity of North-Central Anatolia also by using elements foreign to the cults already present in that area. A whole series of festivals was restored or created ex novo under the last Hittite sovereigns; deities and cults little known or long forgotten were restored.[123] The presence of ŠUR.GAL may indeed be owed to Mesopotamian influence,

122 See Soysal 2012, 316.

123 In particular Zalpa/uwa (see Corti 2010) and Nerik (Corti 2006a and 2009) under Hattušili III and Tuthaliya IV. For a recent discussion of this matter, see Corti 2017a, 136–37.

a scenario that would fit the political situation of the 13th century, when the pressure of the Middle Assyrian Empire was beginning to be felt.[124] It should not be underestimated that the god list An – *Anu ša amēli,* which includes the explanation of ^{D}ŠUR as *Adad ša zunni,* is attested in two Middle Assyrian manuscripts and that none of the Hittite attestations of ŠUR.GAL/Ninga can be dated before the Empire period.

If we accept the equivalence of ŠUR.GAL/Ninga with ^{D}U *ḫewaš* "Storm-god of the Rain" it is highly probable that the worship of that god was institutionalized by Tuthaliya IV.[125] Of course this does not imply that cults concerned with water and rain did not exist from early on – perhaps originally a prerogative of the Storm-god. Subsequently, with the establishment of a specific cult "of the Rain" – mainly at Ankuwa, Karahna, Hakpiš and Kaštama – this characteristic of the Storm-god was personified specifically in ŠUR.GAL.

Addendum: KBo 39.48+ and KBo 34.106(+)

Text 1)
KBo 39.48+KBo 40.42(+)KBo 24.117 rev. IV

x+1 ^{PÚ}*Ú-e-ri-ya-d*[*u*
2' *e-eš-ša-an-zi* x[

3' ^{D}EREŠ.KI.GAL ^{URU}x[
4' TA É.LUGAL *e-eš-*⌜*ša*⌝-[*an-zi*

5' *šu-up-pí AŠ-RU* ARAD^{126MEŠ}[^{m}PN
6' *nu-uš-ma-ša-an* A.ŠÀ[A.GÀR

7' ^{D}U *me-ya-an-na-aš* T[A$^{?}$ É.LUGAL (?)
8' *ke-e-da-ni-aš* MU-*ti*[

9' ^{D}*Kal-li-ya* TA ⌜É⌝[.LUGAL (?)
10' *ka-a-aš* MU.VII^{127KAM} x[

11' ^{D}U Ú.SAL ^{URU}*Da-ḫ*[*a-at-ta-ru-na*(?)

124 For a summary of the events that involve the Hittites and the Middle Assyrian Empire, see Mora – Giorgieri 2004, 11–22. Archi 2016, 55, argues that the few deities of Assyrian tradition were introduced exclusively by Tuthaliya IV.
125 Note that the specification in KUB 25.23 rev. IV 47'–48' "His Majesty has instituted (it)" is used in the text only once and exclusively in connection with the worship of this deity.
126 Collated; not recognized by Hazenbos 2003, 99 and read GIGIR by Groddek 2004, 62.
127 Collated (hand-copy: 6).

12’ *e-eš-ša-an-zi*[

[
[
[

13’ ^{D}U ^{URU}*Zi-ik-ma*[*r*
14’ ^{D}*Pí-ir-wa-aš* ^{D}A[-
15’ ⌜^{D}⌝*Pé-en-tar-uḫ-ši-eš* x[
16’ x $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$ZABAR.DAB x[
17’ ⌜^{D}⌝U AN ^{PÚ}*ku-wa-an-na*[*-ni-ya*
18’ L[Ú^{M}]^{EŠ} ^{URU}*Zi-ik-mar*[*e-eš-ša-an-zi*]

19’ [ ] x x[

rev. V
x+1 [ ]x AL[AM[128]

2’ [^{D}U ^{URU}*Ták-du*]-⌜*ša*⌝ [
3’ [ ]x ^{D}UTU ^{D}x[-
4’ x [ ]^{D}LAMMA ^{D}*A*[*n-*
5’ ^{D}?[ ] x [ ]LÚ^{MEŠ} ^{URU}*Ták-du-*⌜*ša*⌝
6’ *e-eš-ša-a*[*n-z*]*i*

7’ ^{D}U ^{URU}*Ga-aš-t*[*u-*]⌜*ḫa*⌝ LÚ^{MEŠ} ^{URU}*Ták-du-ša*
8’ *e-eš-ša-*⌜*an-zi*⌝

9’ {Rasura} /empty

10’ ^{D}*Hal-ki-i*[*š*] x
11’ LÚ^{MEŠ} x x[ ]*e-eš-ša<-an>-zi*

12’ x URU-*ri* ^{D}x[ ]x-*an*
13’ [ARA]D^{MEŠ} ^{m}*Ḫa-aš*?*-x*[ ]*x-wa e-eš-*⌜*ša*⌝*<-an>-zi*

14’ [^{D}]*Pa-an-za-aš* ^{D}*Pár-*⌜*ga*⌝*-aš*! ^{D}*Up-*⌜*ra*⌝*-aš*
15’ [^{D}]*Wa-al-li-*⌜*aš*⌝ ^{NA4}Z⌜I.⌝KIN TUR^{M}[^{E}]^{Š}[129]
16’ [EGI]R ^{GIŠ}KÁ.⌜GAL⌝ GUB-*r*[*i*?] URU^{LU}[^{M}*-pá*]*t*?
17’ [*ḫ*]*u-u-ma-an-za* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$ŠU.⌜GI⌝^{MUNUS}Š[U.G]I

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128 Thus Groddek 2004, 63; Hazenbos 2003, 100 restores]x-*i*[*t.*
129 For the whole paragraph, see Otten 1992, 35–36; more recently Taracha 2004, 350.

18’ ⌜LÚ⌝.MEŠGURUŠ MUNUS.MEŠKI.SIKIL *ḫu-u-ma*[*-an-za*?[130]]
19’ *an-da a-ri na-an* DÙ*-zi*

20’ DINGIRMEŠ URU*Ḫa-pa-at-ḫa* DU DUTU
21’ DLAMMA D*ZA-BA*$_4$*-BA*$_4$ D*Al-li-na-aš-ši-eš*
22’ LÚMEŠ URU*Ḫa-pát-ḫa e-eš-ša-an-zi*

---[131]

23’ [ ]⌜NA$_4$?⌝*-an* LÚMEŠ URU*Ḫa-pát-ḫa*
24’ ⌜*e*⌝[*-eš-ša-an-z*]*i*

25’ ḪUR.SAG*La-a*[*b*/*r*[*u*?-]x[*-z*]*a*?(-)x[ ]
26’ LÚMEŠ URU*Ma-r*[*i*?(-)]x x[
27’ A.ŠÀ A.GÀR x[

28’ DUTU URU*Ta-a*[*š*?*-ta-ri-iš-ša*(?)
29’ DU URU*Ta-aš*?[*-ta-ri-iš-ša*(?)
30’ A.ŠÀ A.GÀR-*ŠÚ*?[
31’ EZEN$_4$ *a-pa-a*[*-aš* DÙ*-zi*

32’ DU URUx[
33’ A.ŠÀ A.[GÀR
34’ *e-e*[*š*?*-ša-an-zi*(?)

35’ 2?*-a*[*n*?
36’ x[

KBo 24.117
rev. V
x+1 ⌜*e*⌝*-eš-zi ku-iš* K[ÌN*-zi*
2’ EZEN *a-pa-a-aš* DÙ*-z*[*i*

3’ DU URU*Iš-da-ḫi-ša*[
4’ *ku-iš* KÌN*-zi a-p*[*a-a-aš*(?)

5’ DU Ú.SAL URU*Iš-d*[*a-ḫi-ša*
6’ LÚMEŠ URU*Iš-da-ḫ*[*i-ša e-eš-ša-an-zi*]

7’ DU *Ḫa-aš-tu-u-aš* D[
8’ DU Ú.SAL D*Ḫa-t*[*i-pu-na*[132]

130 The restoration *-za* was proposed by Groddek, 2004, 64.
131 Paragraph line omitted in Hazenbos 2003, 100.
132 Restoration according to van Gessel 1998, 110–11. For the importance of Hatipuna in the pantheon of Urišta, see KUB 25.23 obv. II 10’ff.

9’ LÚ$^{MEŠ\ URU}$*Ú-ri-i*[*š-ta e-eš-ša-an-zi*]

10’ $^{ḪUR.SAG}$*Ku-un-ku-mu*[*-uš-ša*
11’ KUR^{TUM} *e-eš-ša*[*-an-zi*

12’ $^{ḪUR.SAG}$*Kaʾ-túlʾ-lu*[(-)[133]
13’ LÚ^{MEŠ} APIN.LAL x[

14’ $^{ḪUR.SAG}$*Ḫa-pá*[*r-ḫu-na*(-)
15’ *e-eš-š*[*a-an-zi*

---

rev. VI (KUB 39.48+)
x+1 [ ]x-*an*

---

y+1 [ ]x
lacuna of ca. 9 lines
z+1 [ ]x
2”’ [ ]^{D}UTU^{ŠI}
3”’ [ ]
4”’ [ ]x
5”’ [*-z*]*i-ya*
6”’ [ ]x
7”’ [ ]x-x
8”’ [ ]x-*ta*
9”’ [ ]x *ta-a-an*
10”’ [*A-B*]*I* ^{D}UTU^{ŠI} *ši-ya-an*
11”’ [(-)*a*]*r-ma-aš-ša-a-an-ma*
12”’ [ ]x TA UGULA DUB.SAR.GIŠ
13”’ [*ši-y*]*a-an* VIII[134] EN ^{GIŠ}TUKUL
14”’ [*pa-r*]*a-a ap-pa-an-za e-eš-ta*
15”’ [I ^{LÚ}x I ^{L}]^{Ú}NAR I ^{LÚ}MUḪALDIM I ^{LÚ}NINDA
16”’ [I ^{LÚ}x I ^{LÚ}KÚRU]N.NA I ^{LÚ}UKU.UŠ
17”’ [I ^{LÚ}x *š*]*aʾ-te-na* LUGAL
18”’ [ ]x EZEN$_4$^{ʔMEŠ}
Lacuna of uncertain length

133 del Monte 1992, 88 reads $^{ḪUR.SAG}$*Kuʾ-uš-lu-*[.
134 As in rev. IV 10’, the number must be corrected from 7 to 8 (= 3 + 4 + 1).

KBo 24.117
rev. VI

x+1]x x[
2’]KISLAḪ *ar-ḫa*
3’ *t]a-at* É.DINGIR^{MEŠ}
4’ *-w]a^{ʔ}-an UL-za QÉ-RU-UB*

5’ LÚ^{MEŠ} (?) ^{URU}*Ḫ]a-zé-*ḪAR EZEN$_4$.MEŠ
6’]x TI-<*an->^{ʔ}ta-aš* LUGAL-*aš*
7’ TI-*an-t]a-aš*(?) *ŠA A-BI* LUGAL[135]
8’]x *kiš-an-pát*
9’]x(-)*en^{ʔ}-ki-wa-an*
10’ ^{D} …(?) ^{URU}*Ḫa-z]é-*ḪAR KUR *Ḫa-ḫar-wa-aš*
11’]$^{⌜D⌝}$*ZA-BA$_4$-BA$_4$*
12’]x ^{D}U Ú.SAL
13’]x $^{⌜D⌝}$EREŠ.KI.GAL
14’ ^{D}U(?) ^{URU}*Ḫ]a[-a]r*[136]*-pí-ša-aš*
15’]x-*wa^{ʔ}-aš*
16’ *-t]e^{ʔ}-el^{ʔ}*[137]
17’]x-*aš^{ʔ}*

Text 2)
KBo 34.106(+)KBo 21.81(+)KBo 38.278
obv. I (KBo 34.106)

1 DINGIR$^{MEŠ\ URU}$*Ḫa-at-ti-na* $^{D⌜}$U$^{ʔ⌝}$[^{URU}*Ḫa-at-ti-na*
2 ^{D}*Za-aḫ-pu-na-a-aš* ḪUR.SAG*Ḫa-ḫa-y*[*a*
3 ^{D}*Ḫal^{l}-kiš* ALAM$^{ḪI.A}$ KÙ.BABBAR GUŠK[IN ^{D}UTU^{ŠI} *Tu-ut-ḫa-li-ya-aš*(?)]
4 GIBIL-*aḫ-ta ka-r*[*u-ú*
5 ^{LÚ}SANGA-*ŠÚ* ^{MUNUS}SA[NGA-*ŠÚ*(?)
6 EZEN$_4$ ITU-*ma^{ʔ}*(-)x[LÚ$^{MEŠ\ URU}$]
7 *e-eš-š*[*a-an-zi*

---

135 In KBo 34.106(+) obv. I 5’, *ŠA A-BI A-BI* LUGAL. Cf. KUB 42.100+ rev. III 45’, IV 15’ (Lamante – Lorenz 2015).
136 For the shape of the AR, which justifies this restoration, see line 2’ (photo BoFN03551).
137 Or, alternatively, K]I.SIKIL?

Lacuna of uncertain length

obv. I (KBo 21.81)
x+1 [ ]x[

2’ [ ]x[
3’ ^{D}IB[
4’ *ti-it-t*[*aʾ-*
5’ EGIR-*an-d*[*a*(-)
6’ *ku-it-k*[*i*
7’ MU^{KAM} *me-y*[*aʾ-ni*(?)
8’ II *ME gi*(*peššar*) ^{L}[$^{Ú?}$
9’ EN KUR ^{T}[^{I}?

10’ II ḪUR.SAG-*ya-x*[
11’ *ŠA* ^{LÚ}KÚR(-)*atʾ-kán*[
12’ ^{D}*Mu-*⌜*laʾ*⌝*-la-an*[(?)

13’ [DINGIR^{ME}]^{Š} ^{URU}⌜*Ḫa-an-ḫa-na*⌝(?) ^{D}U ^{URU}*Ḫa-an-ḫa-na* [
14’ [ ]x x[ ]x x x x x ^{D}UTU A[N^{E}(?)
13’ [ ]$^{ḪI.A}$(-)*ya*/*šaʾ* x *ḫa-anʾ*-x x *uʾ*-x[
14’ [ ]x x x[

---

ca. end of the column

---

obv.ʾ IIʾ (KBo 38.278)
x+1’ [ ]x
———————————————?
2’ [*k*]*uʾ-wa-an-na-an*
3’ [ ]x-*an-kán*
4’ [ ]x[ ]x[

rev.ʾ IIIʾ (KBo 38.278)
x+1’ [*a*]*n-na-al-l*[*a*(-)
2’ [ ]x-*atʾ* UGU *ti-y*[*a-*
3’ [ ]x *an-na-li-iš a-ša-a*[*n-*
4’ [ ]x-*e-er DI*$_{12}$*-ŠI ta*-x[
5’ [*k*]*u-it-ki* TAR-*da-a*[*n*(-)

———————————————

6’ [DINGIR^{MEŠ}(?) ^{UR}]^{U}*Ta-ši-mu-wa* ^{D}UT[U^{138}

138 Or: [^{D}U ^{UR}]^{U}*Ta-ši-mu-wa* ^{D}UT[U. The restoration ^{D}UT[U is reasonable because we are at the

7’ [^{D}*Te*]-*li-pí-nu-uš*[139] ⌜D⌝[
8’ [^{D}*Ta-ḫ*]*a-ru-ul-la-aš*[
9’ [ ]x ^{KUR}*Šu-l*[*i*ʾ(-)]x x[
10’ [ ]x GUŠKIN
11’ [*U*]*P*ʾ-*NU an-na-li-uš*!
12’ [EGI]R-*pa*
13’ [ ]x-x-*an*(-)x-x-*aš*
14’ [ ]x-x-x

rev. IVʾ
1 [ ]x x x[
2 [ ]x[(-)*š*]*a*ʾ-⌜*li-qa*ʾ⌝-*a*[*n*(?)
3 [^{DUG}*kul-l*]*i*ʾ-*ta-aš*[140] ⌜KÙ⌝.BABBAR GUŠ[KIN
4 [NINDA.GU]R$_4$.RA.UD^{KAM}-*ši* EZEN IT[U
5 EZEN$_4$ KASKAL LUGAL-*ya-aš-ši* DÙ-*an-z*[*a*
6 DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*ma* ALAM$^{ḪI.A}$ 2-*an k*[*u*ʾ-
7 NA$_4$ *ar-ḫa še-ba-an-* [*zi*(?)[141]

---

8 ^{D}U ^{URU}*Iš-da-ḫar* ^{D}U É ⌜D⌝UTU⌝ A[N^{E}(?)
9 ^{D}U ^{URU}*Da-ḫa-at-ta-ru-na* ^{D}U *Ḫa-a*[*š-tu-u-aš*[142]
10 ^{D}U ^{URU}*Zi-pal-an-da* ^{D}U *da-ḫ*[*a-at-ta-ru-na*(?)
11 ^{D}U É ^{D}UTU ^{D}LAMMA ^{D} *ZA-BA$_4$-B*[*A$_4$*
12 ⌜D⌝U *tar*⌝-*ma-at-na-aš* ^{D}MA*Ḫ*-*aš* ^{D}[
13 [^{D}EREŠ.K]I.GAL ^{D}*Ḫa-tág-ga-aš*ʾ[
14 [$^{ḪUR.SAG}$*Iš-da-ḫ*]*a-ru-nu-aš* ⌜*tág*ʾ⌝-x[
15 [^{DUG}*kul-li-ta-aš*(?) K]Ù.BABBAR GUŠK[IN

rev. IVʾ (KBo 34.106)
x+1 [T]A x-ešʾ(-)*ŠÚ*[
2’ *ki-nu-un-ma-aš* x[
3’ *nu-za* É.DINGIR^{LIM}-*átʾ*[

---

beginning of the god list of a local pantheon that often starts with a Storm-god and a Sun-god(dess).

139 Or: ^{D}*Ḫa*]-*li-pí-nu-uš*.

140 Restoration uncertain; case ending unclear (dat.-loc. pl.?). According to the dictionaries this word could be of Luwian provenance. It is, however, attested only in documents of the Hurrian milieu.

141 This seems to be a verbal form from *šeba-* (meaning unknown), which is also attested in KUB 26.69 rev. VI 11; see CHD Š/3, 382.

142 Restoration according to KBo 24.117 rev. IV 7’. This place name is attested with the determinative URU only in KUB 38.30 obv. 5 and KUB 55.54+ obv. I 34.

4’ INIM URUDU *ŠA* É ⌜*A*ʔ⌝[-*BI* LUGAL(?)[143]
5’ *ŠA A-BI A-BI* LUGAL [
6’ *ši-ya-a-an-ma-at e-eš*[-*ta/du*(?)
7’ [m]*Kán-tu-zi-li-in* x[

Translation
Text 1)
rev. IV

x+1 Spring Weriyad[u
2’ they celebrate regularly …[

3’ [D]EREŠ.KI.GAL of (the town of)[
4’ [they] celebrate regularly funded by the palace.[

5’ The holy place(?) the servants[of PN(?) celebrate regularly(?).
6’ And him to them the fie[ld

7’ Storm-god of Growth fu[nded by the palace(?) they celebrate regularly.
8’ He in this year[

9’ Kaliya funded by the pa[lace(?) they celebrate regularly.
10’ This one in the 7th year …[

11’ Storm-god of the Meadow of (the town of) Daḫ[attaruna(?)
12’ they celebrate regularly.[

[
[
[

13’ Storm-god of (the town of) Zikma[r
14’ Pirwa, the deity A[…
15’ Pentaruhši …[
16’ … the Holders of the Bronze Dish …[
17’ Storm-god of Heaven, spring Kuwanna[niya
18’ [the peop]le of (the town of) Zikmar[celebrate regularly.]

19’ [ ] … [

143 Cf. KUB 1.1 obv. I 56: INIM É LUGAL. Or, maybe, [É]*ḫ*[*a*ʔ-*li-en-tu-wa*?

rev. V

x+1 [ ] … sta[tue

2’ [Storm-god of (the town of) Takdu]ša [
3’ [ ] … Sungod(dess), deity …[-
4’ x [ ]tutelary deity, deity A[n…
5’ deity(?)[ ] … [ ]the people of (the town of) Takduša
6’ celebrate regularly.

7’ The Storm-god (of the town) of Kašt[u]ha the people (of the town) of Takduša
8’ celebrate regularly.

9’ {*Empty line*}

10’ Halki[ ] …
11’ the people of (the town of) … [ ]celebrate regularly.

12’ … the town(acc)… [ ] …
13’ [the serv]ants of Ha[š?…] … celebrate regularly.

14’ The little *huwaši*-stones of (the deities) Panza, Parga, Upra
15’ (and) Walliya
16’ are standing behind the (city-)gate. Exactly the whole town
17’ – old men, ol[d wome]n,
18’ young men, girls, a[ll of them –]
19’ arrives and celebrates them.

20’ Deities of (the town of) Hapatha: Storm-god, Sungoddess,
21’ the tutelary deity, *ZABABA* (and) Alinašši
22’ the people of (the town of) Hapatha celebrate regularly.

23’ [ ] the stone(?) the people (of the town) of Hapatha
24’ ce[lebrat]e regularly.

25’ Mt. La… […]…[ ]
26’ the people of (the town of) Mar[i?…]…[
27’ the field … [

28’ Sun-god(dess) of (the town of) Ta[štarišša(?)
29’ Storm-god of (the town of) Taš[tarišša(?)
30’ his(?) field[
31’ that festival [celebrate regularly.(?)]

32’ Storm-god of (the town of) … [
33’ the fie[ld
34’ ce[lebrate regularly.(?)]

35’ together(?)[
36’ …[

KBo 24.117
rev. V
x+1 is, which perf[orms(?)
2’ that festival celebrate[s

3’ Storm-god of (the town of) Išdahiša[
4’ which performs th[at (festival?)

5’ Storm-god of the meadow of(?) (the town of) Išd[ahiša
6’ the men of (the town of) Išdah[iša celebrate regularly.]

7’ Storm-god of Ḫaštuwa, deity[
8’ Storm-god of the meadow, Hat[ipuna
9’ the men of (the town of) Uri[šta celebrate regularly.]

10’ Mt. Kunkumu[ušša
11’ the land (nom./acc.) [they] celebrate regularly.

12’ Mt. … [
13’ the ploughmen … [

14’ Mt. Hapa[rhuna
15’ celeb[rate regularly.]

---

rev. VI (KUB 39.48+)
x+1 [ ]…

---

y+1 [ ]…
lacuna of ca 9 lines
z+1 [ ]…
2”’ [ ]His Majesty
3”’ [ ]

4‴ [ ]…
5‴ [ ]…
6‴ [ ]…
7‴ [ ]…
8‴ [ ]…
9‴ [ ]… second/for the second time(?)
10‴ [of(?) the fat]her of His Majesty under seal
11‴ [ ]…
12‴ [ ]… from/with the chief of the wooden tablet
13‴ [under se]al 8 men of the tool
14‴ [ ]has been selected:
15‴ [one …, one]singer, one cook, one supplier,
16‴ [one …, one bre]wer, one heavy infantry
17‴ [one …]… the king
18‴ [ ]… festivals(?)

l. col.
x+1]x[
2’ (from the?)]threshing floor away(?)
3’]… temples
4’]… is not available(?).

5’ The men of (?) (the town of) H]azehar the festivals
6’]… of the living king
7’]of the father of the [livi]ng(?) king
8’]… thus
9’]…
10’ deity…of (?) (the town of) Haz]ehar, Mt. Haharwa
11‘]*ZABABA*
12‘]… Storm-god of the Meadow
13’]… EREŠ.KI.GAL
14’ Storm-god of (?) (the town of) H]arpiša
15’]…
16’]…
17’]…

Text 2)
obv. I (KBo 34.106)
1 Deities of (the town of) Hattina: St[orm-]god[of (the town of) Hattina
2 Zahpuna, Mt. Haḫay[a
3 Halki the gold[en] statues [His Majesty Tutḫaliya(?)]
4 restored. Earl[ier/Alre[ady
5 his priest (and) [his] priestess[

6 and[?] the monthly festival[… the people of (the town of) …]
7 celebr[ate regularly.]

---

obv. I (KBo 21.81)
x+1 [ ]x[

2’ [ ]x[
3’ god …[
4’ ere[ct(?)
5’ behind[
6’ somethin[g
7’ annua[lly
8’ 2 hundred cubits(?) the m[an(?)
9’ the lord of the land[

10’ Two mountains …[
11’ of the enemy …[
12’ the deity Mulala(?) [

13’ [Deitie]s of the town of Hanhana : Storm-god of Hanhana
14‘ [ ]…[ ]… Sun god of the s[ky(?)
13’ [ ]…[ ]…[
14‘ [ ]…[
Illegible lines follow

---

ca. end of the column

---

obv.[?] II[?] (KBo 38.278)
x+1’ [ ]…

---?

2’ [c]opper(?)
3’ [ ]…
4’ [ ]…[ ]…[

rev.[?] III[?] (KBo 38.278)
x+1’ [o]ld[
2’ [ ]… stand[/get[up
3’ [ ]… old(?) there are(?)[
4’ [ ]they […]ed. In autumn …
5’ [s]omething clip[…/cut[…

6’ [Deities/Storm-god(?) of (the to]wn of) Tašimuwa: Su[ngod(dess)
7’ [Te]lipinu(?), dei[ty
8’ [Tah]arula(?)[
9’ [ ]… Mt. Šul[i…(?)]…[
10’ [ ]… gold
11’ [former (bread offerings of?)..*U*]*PNU*[
12’ [behi]nd(?)
13’ [ ]…
14’ [ ]…

Rev. IV[?] (KBo 21.81)
1 [ ]…[
2 [ ]…[
3 for the [vessels *kul*]*ita*(?) (of) silver (and) go[ld
4 [th]ick [bread] of the(?) day the mont[hly] festival[
5 the festival of the journey of the king for him is celebrated[
6 But the deities statues together/subsequently(?)…[
7 (whilst?) the stone they carry away(??).

---

8 Storm-god of (the town of) Išdahara, Storm-god of the House, Sun-god(dess)(?)[
9 Storm-god of (the town of) Dahattaruna, Storm-god of (the town of ?) Ha[štuwa(?)
10 Storm-god of (the town of) Zippalanda, Storm-god of (the town of ?) Dah[attaruna(?)
11 Storm-god of the House, Sungod(dess), tutelary deity, *ZABAB*[*A*
12 Storm-god of the Fastening, the Mother goddess, deity[…
13 [EREŠ.K]I.GAL, Hatakka[
14 [Mt. Išdah]arunuwa…[
15 [for the vessels *kulita* of (?) s]ilver (and) go[ld

Rev. IV[?] (KBo 34.106)
x+1 [funded b]y of …[
2’ but/and he now(?) …[
3’ and exactly the temple[

4’ Word[144] (of) copper. Of the palace of the fa[ther of the king(?)
5’ of the grandfather of the king[this tablet(?)]

144 For references to the formula “INIM/*AWĀT ŠA* PN”, see Gordin 2015, 41 fn. 216. According to him this formula is very rare in cult inventories; for exceptions, see KUB 42.100++ (Lamante – Lorenz 2015) and KuT 31 (Hazenbos 2003, 159–63).

6’ i[s] (engraved) with the seal/ i[s] sealed.[
7’ Kantuzzili …[(in front of …?) has done it.(?)]

Fig. 2: Map of Hittite North-Central Anatolia (© C. Corti, M. Massa)

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